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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 1, 1 January 1985

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CHINA REPORT

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No. 1, 1 January 1985

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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A TALK BY DENG XIAOPING AT THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON 22 OCTOBER 1984

Beijing PED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 pp 2-5

[Text] I think the current party Central Committee is a mature one, capable of handling all types of problems quite properly. Foreign newspapers and journals invariably say that I have played a certain role in it. I agree, but the main work has been accomplished by other comrades. I have indeed put forward some ideas, but it is those comrades who do the actual work who have handled problems and complex matters in an orderly manner. For instance, the "Decision on Reform of the Economic Structure," just adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, has evoked strong response. Everybody says that it is a document of historical significance. I have not contributed one single character to this document, and I have not changed one single character in it. It is nevertheless a very good document. The actual situation is also like this. Don't publicize that the role I have played in it is so important. Such publicity will create a problem that people will think that our policies will change after Deng Xiaoping dies.

At present there is such a worry among foreign countries. There are also some persons who do not think the policies will change as long as Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang live. This is rather good thinking. However, Comrade Yaobang is already 69 and Comrade Ziyang 65, both pushing 70. We want to explain to the world that no one can change our present principles, policies, or strategies. Why? Because facts prove that they are correct. The people will not approve any change, because it will cause losses to the country and the people. We say that the current policies are effective, because our country has become prosperous, the people's living standards have indeed improved, and our country has enjoyed higher prestige in the world. This is most important. The policies yielded effects first in rural areas. Our rural policies will not change because any change will immediately lower the living standards of the 800 million peasants and will meet with their opposition. There are still several tens of millions of people in the countryside who have not yet completely solved their food and clothing problems, but their livelihood is much better now than before. The central authorities have already made arrangements to help those poor localities develop themselves. Now, the state has had a free hand to help those few localities, as the overwhelming majority of regions in China have become better off. This problem is not hard to solve because those localities can

get help not only from the state, but also from other localities that have become better off. Our practice shows that the policies will not change in our generation, including Comrades Yaobang and Ziyang, nor will they change in the periods of the third, fourth, and the fifth echelon. It is impossible for them to change. In recent times I have always told foreign guests that the policies will not change and the continuity of current policies is reliable. Nevertheless, they still are not fully convinced. This is a very big problem. I have become aware of this problem. Therefore, I am keeping my work to a minimum. My minimum-work attitude has the following advantages: First, I can live longer. Second, they are doing good work when I reduce my work load. I should say that these comrades are energetic and can do even better than I. I hope that I can be fully relieved of my work gradually and keep myself in good shape. Then, my duty will be accomplished.

At present I think that I still have to do some work. I did only one thing last year--combat criminals. This year I did two things: One was the further opening of 14 cities; the other was the settlement of the Hong Kong issue with the "one country, two systems" formula. Other things were done by others.

"One country, two systems" was presented by taking account of China's realities. China is faced with a Hong Kong question and a Taiwan question. There are only two ways to settle the questions: through negotiations, and by force. To achieve solution through peaceful negotiations, the solution should be acceptable to all parties concerned. The Hong Kong question should be acceptable to China, Britain, as well as Hong Kong residents. What is considered acceptable? In the case of Hong Kong, using socialist ways to change Hong Kong is not acceptable to all parties concerned. I noted in my talks with foreign guests that in solving international disputes, it is necessary to take into account the new conditions and new problems, and work out new methods. "One country, two systems" was presented in accordance with our realities, but it can be extensively applied in other international issues. Many international disputes will become points of eruption if they are not properly settled. I wonder if we could apply the method of "one country, two systems" in some places, and the method of "joint development" in other places. There is a method of "joint development" in addition to the method of "one country, two systems." We Chinese advocate peace and hope to settle disputes in a peaceful manner. What kind of peaceful manner is that? It implies "one country, two systems" and "joint development." These two are said to be new and meaningful concepts.

The solution of the Hong Kong question does not imply that we who participated in the negotiations have special talents. It is attributed primarily to the fact that in the past few years our country has developed into a flourishing, capable, and trustworthy country. We are a people of good faith and we mean what we say. After the downfall of the "gang of four," particularly after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, some really encouraging changes have taken place. We have changed our country's image. In the past 5 years and more our country has undergone

great changes. The people at home and abroad have clearly noticed this. We can be proud of this. Of course being proud is different from being arrogant. We should not be arrogant, nor should we boast. After all, we are still backward. However, things have shown that we have a very promising future indeed. This is indicated in the solution of the Hong Kong question. Of course, the solution of the Hong Kong question can be attributed to the correctness of the fundamental principle and strategy of "one country, two systems" as well as to the common efforts of the Chinese and the British sides.

The solution of the Hong Kong question will have direct impact on the Taiwan question. The method of "one country, two systems" should be acceptable to them. Chiang Ching-kuo called for reunifying China under the "Three Principles of the People." Is this realistic? The thing that you call the "Three Principles of the People" was practiced in China for 22 years from 1927 to 1949. What became of China then? "The Chinese people have stood up." Since when? Since 1949. It was socialism and the Communist Party that enabled the Chinese people to stand up. Using the method of "one country, two systems," you will not engulf me, nor I you. Is this not good? Recently a foreigner asked me if the Taiwan question is the same as the Hong Kong question. I said that it would be more lenient. By "more lenient," I meant that, apart from the fact that these provisions for solving the Hong Kong question are applicable to Taiwan, Taiwan is allowed to retain its own armed forces. A few days ago I spoke again with another foreign guest about the Taiwan question. I said: We insist on solving the Taiwan question in a peaceful manner, but we do not renounce nonpeaceful means to achieve reunification with Taiwan.

Back to the question of economic construction at home. At the beginning I said that our current central authorities are carrying out their tasks in an orderly and sound manner. The overall situation is fine. The "Decision" notes that the political stability and unity has been further consolidated. Is it not the case? Indeed it is.

Looking back at the entire history of our party, how often did we find ourselves in such a fine political situation? In my talks with foreigners I said something very bold: The goal of quadruplication can be accomplished. We did not dare to say that in the past. We used to say that quadruplication can be accomplished, but that it takes a great deal of effort. In 4 years the major production targets specified in the Sixth 5-Year Plan were fulfilled in 3 years. This year's plan will also be overfulfilled. We used to say that, if the average growth rate in the first 10 years were 6.5 percent, and if the average growth in 20 years were 7.2 percent, the goal of quadruplication could be attained. It seems that the momentum we gained during the first 10 years may have surpassed 7.2 percent, since we registered a nearly 8 percent increase during the first 3 years.

Quadrupling China's gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production is of a great significance. It means that by the end of this century, China's GNP will reach \$1 trillion. By that time China will be in the front ranks of the world's countries in terms of GNP, instead of per

capita income. If reflected in the people's livelihood, this \$1 trillion GNP will bring us to a level which we may call comparatively well-off. If reflected in our national power, we will become a relatively strong country. This is because by that time, if we use 1 percent of our GNP for national defense, it will amount to \$10 billion and if we use 5 percent, it will amount to \$50 billion, provided that our GNP reaches \$1 trillion. We can do a lot with \$10 billion, and improving some of our equipment will be an easy job. If we use 1 percent of the GNP for science and education, we can set up many universities, and we can allocate more resources to do such things as eliminating illiteracy. Investment in intellectual development should by no means be limited to 1 percent. At present we have too many problems to tackle, and it is very difficult to somewhat increase our outlays for education and scientific research. By the end of this century our people's livelihood will be relatively well-off, which means a much better situation than at present. Last year I went to Suzhou. Suzhou Prefecture's total annual value of industrial and agricultural production had approached \$800 per capita. In terms of the GNP, it amounts to \$400 per capita. I acquainted myself with the living standards in Suzhou. First, in Suzhou people do not try to move to Shanghai or Beijing. Perhaps people in a large part of Jiangsu do not try to move to other places but are content to live there. Second, each person had an average of 20 square meters of floor space for housing. Third, education had become universal. People use their own money to promote education. Fourth, people had not only solved their food and clothing problems but had also solved most of the problems related to home appliances, such as television sets and other major household appliances, which had become popular. Fifth, there had been a great change in people's mental outlook. Violations of law and discipline, criminal activities, and other offenses had sharply declined. There were other things I cannot remember. But even these changes are really something! At present efforts will still be made to constantly crack down on criminals. If we truly achieve our goals by that time, people's mental outlook will be different. Material things are the foundation. Along with improving the people's material life and the raising of their cultural levels, their mental outlook will undergo a significant change. Our crackdown on criminal activities is necessary, and we intend to continue it. However, we cannot resolve the fundamental issue by relying on this means alone. To truly resolve the fundamental issue we need to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production. By that time we shall obviously still need to carry out education work and the work concerning people, which can never be dispensed with. However, this is the foundation, and it will be easier to do the work on this foundation. We may boldly say that quadrupling the gross annual value can be achieved. If this goal is achieved, what will the political situation be then? I think it will definitely be one of true stability and unity. At present we describe it as becoming more stable with each passing day. By that time, China's international influence will also be quite different, and our country's power will become truly strong. Therefore, in the next 20 years, we must immerse ourselves in hard work and arduous struggle. There are 16 years before the year 2000. We must make an all-out effort and work wholeheartedly.

Quadrupling China's gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production has another important meaning. It means another new starting point. Within 30 to 50 years we will be close to the level of the economically developed countries in their production quality and living standards, not in their system. This is something possible, conceivable, and attainable. During recent conversations with foreign visitors, I was asked: Why did you say that Hong Kong would remain unchanged for 50 years? What do you envision? I replied that the reason for the question is that, after quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production before the end of this century, we have another new objective, that is, to work for another 30 to 50 years to be close to the level of the economically developed countries. Why did we say that Hong Kong would remain unchanged for 50 years after 1997 and that the policy to induce foreign capital and to open to the outside world is a long-term policy, which, if carried out in Hong Kong, will continue for at least 60 to 70 years? It is because our goal to quadruple China's gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production and the objective beyond this goal are inseparable from the policy of opening to the outside world. It would be easy to explain this question from a specific aspect.

At present our country's foreign trade volume is some \$40 billion. If we were to close our door to the outside world with such a small foreign trade volume, how could we quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production? You can easily understand the question from this aspect. Of course, there are other aspects. When our gross national product reaches \$1 trillion, what are we going to do with our products? Should they all be sold domestically? Are we going to manufacture everything we need? Don't we have to purchase some things from abroad and sell some of our manufactured goods to the outside world? This is why we said that without implementing the policy of opening to the outside world, it would be difficult to quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production and even more difficult to achieve progress after the goal is fulfilled.

Foreigners worry that our open policy may change. I said that it will not change. I said: From now until the end of this century is a stage in our fighting goal. We have another fighting goal beyond this century, which will take 30 to 50 years, or for sure 50 years. Within these 50 years we will adhere to the open policy. Any country that closes its door to the outside world cannot achieve progress. We underwent this bitter experience and so did our forefathers. Chengzu of the Ming Dynasty was a rather open emperor who dispatched Zheng He to embark on an ocean expedition voyage to the West. After Emperor Chengzu died the Ming Dynasty gradually declined and China was invaded by foreigners. Kangxi and Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty could not be called open emperors. China closed the country to international intercourse for more than three centuries from the middle of the Ming Dynasty to the Opium War, or for nearly two centuries from Emperors Kangxi and Qianlong. Hence, the country became impoverished, backward, and ignorant. In the First 5-Year Plan after the founding of the PRC, we opened the country to the outside world, but only to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Later on, we closed the door and we did not make any progress. Of

course, there were other factors, such as our errors, that attributed to our standstill. We must open to the outside world and the open policy will not hurt us.

Some of our comrades are afraid that evil practices may be introduced to the country. They are most worried by whether we will become capitalist. Perhaps, some of our veteran comrades have this worry. They are afraid of seeing capitalism suddenly looming up after having worked all their lives for socialism and communism, and they cannot stand such a sight. No, nothing will be affected. It may bring along some negative factors. But it will not be difficult to overcome such factors if we are aware of them. Closing the country to international intercourse for another 50 years would definitely make it impossible to come close to the level of the economically developed countries. When we are close to the level of the economically developed countries with an annual income of several thousand dollars per capita, a new bourgeois class will not emerge because all the basic means will still be owned by the state and the public. There is nothing wrong with the country becoming powerful and prosperous and the people's material and cultural living standard being continuously improved.

During the last 16 years of this century, no matter how open we are, the economy based on the public ownership system will invariably remain dominant. In joint ventures with foreigners, there is still one-half belonging to socialism. We take a greater part of the actual revenue of joint ventures. So don't be afraid. It is the state and the people, not capitalism, that receive the greater part of the benefit. Of course, there will definitely be some negative effects, but there are ways to overcome them. This document is good in that it explains what socialism is, and it contains some words not said by our forefathers--that is, some new words. In my opinion, the document has made the matter clear. In the past we could not write such a document. Were it not for the practice of the past few years, it would be impossible to write such a document. Even if we wrote such a document, it would be very hard to have it adopted. We have used our own practice to answer the several new questions that have arisen under the new circumstances. Didn't we say upholding the four basic principles? This document should be considered as a real effort to uphold socialism. Otherwise, it would be that "We would rather want the weed of socialism than the seedling of capitalism" as the "gang of four" did. Ideological emancipation is a task that our veteran comrades should do. What is gratifying is that comrades of the three organizations--the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission, and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission--all approve of this document and see the necessity and importance of issuing this programmatic document. This is a good document.

The "Decision" consists of 10 parts. Of most importance is Part IX, though the other parts are also very important, of course. Part IX can be epitomized as "respecting knowledge, respecting talented people." The crucial issue that determines our success or failure is whether we can discover talented people and apply them. Speaking in a more concrete way, some comrades in their 50's are pretty good now, but people who are around 50 will be 60 in 10 years. What we should do now is boldly use middle-aged and

young cadres. In particular, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out the need to select young people in their 30's and 40's. This opinion is very good. After being selected and promoted, these young people can work for a rather long time. Although they are now incompetent for their jobs, they will become competent in a couple of years. They have comparatively clever brains. Next year the work of party rectification will touch the grass-roots level and will be carried out in various units and enterprises. This is an extraordinarily great task. Success or failure of this task depends on whether we can discover a number of young people. This is because by the end of this century people who are now 30 years old will be in their 40's, and those who are now 40 will become only some 50 years old. As for the next objective, some people will also become old at that time. Our veteran comrades should give more advice [duo gu duo wen 1122 7357 1122 0795] on this question. They should emancipate their minds in this respect. It won't do if they do not emancipate their minds! It is necessary to persuade old comrades to vacate their posts, otherwise there will be no vacancies for young cadres. While our situation, as a whole, is characterized by stability and unity, this is a question rather with more knots to be solved, and also a question that has not yet been sufficiently resolved.

It doesn't matter if other questions of one kind or another appear. But failure to solve this question will lead to big problems and grave mistakes in the future. It is no easy task to have some middle-aged and old comrades vacate their posts, but this is a task we must do and a road we must take. Two years ago I said that I hoped to take the lead in retiring. I dwelt on this question the year before last. The Advisory Commission is a way of transition. In the final analysis, we have to set up a retirement system. The reason is that there are a definite number of posts, and moreover we have to improve the quality of our personnel and simplify our administration. If the old refuse to vacate their posts, the young will be unable to advance. If the young cannot advance, how can our undertakings be prosperous? In this regard, we should also follow the example of developed countries. Some Third World countries are also rather successful in solving this kind of question. Recently I have heard that in many countries most of the ministers are only around 30 years old. Though there are some older ministers, they are relatively few in number. The prime ministers may be older, but in general they are about 50 years old. When we had just come to the cities, we were young. At the time of nationwide liberation, I was only 45, and many comrades were even younger than I. At the end of 1927 when I assumed the post of secretary general of the CPC Central Committee for the first time, I was only 23 and was also a high official. At that time I knew nothing, but I could fill the post. To sum up, selecting young cadres is a major task of our Advisory Commission. (This talk by Comrade Deng Xiaoping was abridged when included in the book "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics.")

NOTES ON WHAT I SAW AND HEARD WHEN I WENT WESTWARD WITH THE ARMY (AUTUMN 1935)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 pp 6-29

[Article by Chen Yun]

[Text] Editor's note: January of this year is the 50th anniversary of the convening of the Zunyi meeting. During and shortly after convening this enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong in the party and army was actually established. This ensured a successful completion of the Long March, and enabled the Chinese revolution to win one victory after another, and to enter a new historical period. Therefore, the Zunyi meeting has been generally acknowledged as a great turning point in the history of the Chinese revolution. Now we publish "Notes on What I Saw and Heard When I Went Westward With the Army" written by Comrade Chen Yun in 1935 to mark the occasion.

The article was first published in the Paris QUANMIN YUEKAN [MONTHLY OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE] run by the CPC, and pamphlets were published in Moscow in the same year. To facilitate the circulation of the article in the KMT-ruled areas, the author used the pen name Lian Chen. In the article the author was a fictitious KMT medical officer captured by the Red Army.

The forces of the CPC have been expanding so rapidly in recent years. The Red Army led by Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Xu Xiangqian, He Long, Xiao Ke, and others has become a powerful force in our country. When the Red Army was just established, it was a single spark, but it has not started a prairie fire. The Red Army units led by Mao Zedong and Zhu De were composed of the remnants of the troops of Ye Ting and He Long led by Zhu De, and the peasant army of Hunan and Jiangxi led by Mao Zedong in the 16th year of the Republic of China when the KMT and CPC split. Nanjing and various provinces have sent troops to encircle and suppress them for 8 or 9 years. But the actual strength of Mao Zedong and Zhu De has increased rather than being weakened. Over the past year, Chiang Kai-shek personally supervised

the operation of suppression, and the work of building one block-house after another, trying to annihilate the Red Army at one go. However, knowing the enemy's strategy, in mid-October last year Mao Zedong and Zhu De led their troops to break out of the encirclement. They went westward from the border of Hunan and Guangdong to enter Guizhou Province. After staying in the three provinces of Guizhou, Sichuan and Yunnan for a certain period, they eventually ran the risk of forcing their way across the Jinsha Jiang and Dadu He (these two rivers are at the upper reaches of the Chang Jiang and are very wide and swift-running) to enter Sichuan, and join forces with Xu Xiangqian in the northern part of Sichuan. Now that these two great Red Army units of China have joined forces they have continued to gain momentum. In the meantime, the military focal point has been shifted from the southeast to the northwest.

I am a doctor by occupation, and served the Nanjing military authorities for 4 years. The year before last, I served Nanjing's 59th Division, and was captured by the Red Army in the battle of Donghuang Bo in Jiangxi.¹ Shortly after my capture, I thought I could not survive. I was sent to Ruijin, in the rear of the Red areas. Due to the fact that I was a medical officer, I was detained in the health section of the Red Army. He Cheng, chief of the section, talked with me personally. At that time, the number of medical officers in the Red Army was limited.

They wanted me to serve in a Red Army hospital, and said that they would pay me the same salary as I received in the 59th Division. Every month I was allowed to send 60 yuan to my family members as a family allowance. Since I was a captive, I had no choice in the matter. However, the Red Army kept its word. I received my monthly salary. I also got my mother's letter saying that she received the family allowance that I sent every month. Thereafter, I was sent on several occasions to a Red Army preparatory hospital in Shimen. The leading figures of the Red Army such as Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Lin Biao, Peng Dehuai, and some other important figures of the CPC Central Bureau in the Red areas received my medical treatment. I first thought that these Red leading figures, who were famous throughout the country, must have been fierce and brutal. However, once I met them, I was very surprised to find that they were not. When I first gave Mao Zedong medical treatment, I found out that he was like a scholar. He wore a student's suit made of grey cloth. In his spare time, he liked to read Tang poems. He was gifted with a silver tongue. When I treated him, I found out that he was a modest man. People knew that Zhu De was a military man even at the first glance. He was about 50 years old and wore a grey military uniform. Although he was suffering from malaria, he kept on working. It seemed he was busy with his work. When I entered his room to make a diagnosis and give him treatment, he was reading a military bulletin, and had a writing brush in his hand. He put down the writing brush when he saw me. He was polite. When I talked with him, I did not find that he was arrogant. These two leading figures of the Red Army were completely different from what I had imagined them to be before meeting them.

In mid-October last year, the Nanjing troops occupied Xingguo, and the Red Army broke out of the encirclement to march westward. I was also taken

along. This was the first march I had ever undertaken. We only rested in Zunyi, located at the northern border of Guizhou Province, for about 10 days or so, and had another rest for 5 days or so near the boundary of Huili County after crossing the Jinsha Jiang. After that, the Red Army kept on marching come rain or shine. Starting from Jiangxi, it marched through Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou, Sichuan, Yunnan, Xikang,² and eventually arrived at Lifan³ and Songpan of Sichuan Province. It traveled a total distance of 12,000 li in a period of 8 months or so, covering most areas in the northern parts of the Chang Jiang. The Red Army climbed numerous high mountains and crossed many big rivers, and eventually joined forces with the troops of Xu Xiangqian. I was frail and weak. I was fortunate that I could endure the hardships and survive. In the meantime, I also felt fortunate because I was able to travel to various provinces along the Chang Jiang and Zhu Jiang valleys for the first time in my life, and saw many places that I had never dreamed of. I was proud of this. During the first half of last July, He Cheng, chief of the health section, assigned me to work as a medical officer in the guerrilla brigade in Mao (Gong)⁴ and Bao (Xing). I shuttled between the mountain areas of the two counties. One morning, the Sichuan troops attacked our guerrilla brigade, I became separated from it. Twenty yuan which was all I had was extorted by the civil corps. Later, I was fortunate enough to meet a medical officer of the 5th Brigade, Mr Jiang, who was my former schoolmate. With his help, I traveled by ship via Tianquan, Yazhou,⁵ Chengdu, and Chongqing and finally arrived at my hometown.

The fact that the Red Army abandoned their long-established bases in Fujian and Jiangxi to enter Sichuan was obviously a planned action. As far as I knew, before withdrawing from Jiangxi last year, the Red Army had already made full preparations. From May to September, the Red Army recruited more than 100,000 new soldiers.

When Dr Lin and Dr He (Dr He was a subordinate of Zhang Huizan and was later captured by the Red Army)⁶ and I were sent to work in a clinic of the Military Industrial Bureau (an administrative bureau responsible for managing various military supplies factories of the Red Army), we learned that several thousand workers in the munitions factories and the clothing factories were very busy with their work day and night. Later, in September, the HONGSE ZHONGHUA (an organ of the central government of the Red areas) published an article written by Zhang Wentian (chairman of the people's committee of the central government).⁷ The article revealed that the Red Army might possibly give up Jiangxi to continue its activities in the regions outside the areas formerly controlled by the Red Army, and in the zones that were not the target of attack of the "encirclement and suppression" military forces. Just as we expected, in mid-October, all troops of the Red Army marched to the west. When the troops under the command of Mao Zedong and Zhu De were breaking out of the encirclement, only a small number of soldiers stayed in Jiangxi. Mao Zedong and Zhu De led 130,000 to 140,000 troops of the Red Army in the retreat from Jiangxi. Almost all communist leading figures left with the army. Tens of thousands of communist junior and middle-ranking cadres from various counties marched with the army. There were 100 to 200 women cadres who carried pistols on their hips, and wore straw sandals.

These women fighters were healthy and strong and walked as if on wings. They frequently took care of the wounded soldiers in the health section. Sometimes, they carried wounded soldiers on stretchers just as the men did.

The Red Army crossed the Xinfeng Jiang in two groups (the first group crossed the river from the Wangmu ferry in the northern part of the Xinfeng Jiang, the other group defeated the Guangdong Army which occupied Gopo and Xintian in the southeastern part of the river).⁸ In other words, the Red Army crossed the Zhangshui River from a location between the two counties of Nankang and Dayu.⁹ It broke out of the encirclement along the highway from Ganzhou to Nanxiong. The Guangdong Army had built pillboxes and defending troops were stationed in the areas. However, since they were hopelessly outnumbered, they fled once they heard that the Red Army was about to attack them. In such a way, the first line of pillboxes built by the KMT troops which encircled the Red Army for many years were completely destroyed. The pillboxes along the highway were demolished by the Red Army and the residents who hated the KMT troops for bullying them when buying things from them on credit. The purpose of building the pillboxes was to encircle the Red Army. They were usually built along the two sides of highways, at important intersections, and on mountain ridges. These pillboxes were made of stones and bricks in the shape of a square or a hexagon. There were pillboxes of different sizes controlled by a platoon, company, or battalion. Usually, soldiers were stationed in the pillboxes, and they were armed with rifles and machineguns. They could shoot from inside the pillboxes. There was only a small door in each pillbox. When the Red Army launched an attack, the soldiers in the pillbox shut the door and shot from inside to defend the position. Such pillboxes greatly harmed the military operations of the Red Army. Therefore, the Red Army had to destroy them. The troops stationed in these pillboxes failed to observe discipline when they dealt with the peasants. Hence when the Red Army arrived, these residents joined in the demolition of these pillboxes. When the Red Army broke out of the blockade lines, it was like a tiger that had grown wings. It fiercely attacked some parts of Rucheng at the Hunan-Guangdong border (within the boundaries of Hunan), and Changkou (the northern part of Renhua in Guangdong), and then occupied Chengkou.

Several thousand barrels of kerosene and a large quantity of ammunition belonging to the Guangdong troops were seized by the Red Army. The pillboxes built by Guangdong troops in Chengkou which linked with those in Rucheng and Guidong in Hunan (the second blockade line of the KMT troops) were attacked and all the pillboxes demolished. Then, the Red Army was irresistible. The Nanjing troops were stationed along the border of Hunan and Guizhou. The Guangdong troops could only defend themselves. How could the Hunan troops resist the Red Army by themselves? They fled once they heard that the Red Army was marching toward them. Therefore, the Red Army occupied Yizhang City without any resistance. It crossed the highway along the Guangdong-Hankou railway (the third blockade line of the KMT troops) to destroy the pillboxes as it had done in the past. Its vanguard units occupied Lingwu, Jiahe, and Lanshan. Then, the units under Li Yunshan of the Hunan troops marched southward from Ningyuan intending to intercept the Red Army near the Tiantang country fair. However, they were encircled

by the Red Army at the Tiantang country fair, were badly battered, and fled to the north. The Red Army again seized a large quantity of ammunition. At that time, the Red Army was smashing the enemy like splitting bamboo. It continued the march along two routes to attack Daozhou,¹⁰ and Jianghua as well as Yongming.¹¹ Once these towns were occupied, all the Red Army crossed the Xiaoshui River. At that time, the Nanjing troops and Hunan troops were no longer capable of following the tracks of the Red Army in order to suppress it. Only a small number of troops was sent to follow and keep watch on the operations of the Red Army. Most of the troops of Xue Yue and Zhou Hunyuan,¹² and Hunan troops were deployed in Lingling (within the boundaries of Hunan Province) and Quanzhou (within the boundaries of Guangxi) along the Xiang Jiang. Most of the Guangxi troops were ordered to stations in Guanyang and Xingan. According to the plan of Chiang Kai-shek, the main forces were sent to intercept the Red Army that was crossing the river, and to chase the Red Army from the north into Guangxi. When the Red Army and the Guangxi troops both suffered losses, Chiang Kai-shek would reap third party profit. However, Li Zhongren and Bai Chongxi knew Chiang's tricks. They tried to maintain their main forces, and worried about the possibility that if the Red Army could not cross the river, it would stay in Guangxi Province and carry out its activities near Guilin. They also feared that the columns of Xue and Zhou, which followed the trail of the Red Army, would penetrate into Guangxi. In such a way, the power of Guangxi Province would fall into the hands of Nanjing. Therefore, they withdrew the Guangxi troops stationed in Guian to the south. Although the columns of Xue and Zhou and Hunan troops launched an attack by relying on their own efforts, they could not prevent the Red Army from crossing the river. Therefore, it was able to cross the Xiang Jiang safe and sound, and demolish the pillboxes on the highways along the banks of the Xiang Jiang (the fourth blockade line of the KMT troops). Once the Red Army broke the fourth blockade line, it was like a tiger released from a cage. It could attack east and west. The strategy of pillboxes worked out and implemented by the Nanjing government of Chiang Kai-shek to "suppress the bandits" ended in failure.

The feeling of joy in the Red Army was beyond description. The Political Department of the Red Army made use of the former music score of the march of the Chinese cavalry to compose a new song. The soldiers of the Red Army were taught to sing it. More than 200 nurses (most of them were young people of 15 or 16) in the health section in which I worked sang the song every day. The song expressed the feeling of joy of the Red Army and ridiculed the pillbox policy of Chiang Kai-shek.

The song said: "The leadership of the Communist Party is truly correct, and the people support it abundantly. The Red Army fought heroically to smash the tortoiseshells of the KMT (the pillboxes of the KMT). We are truly happy. We are truly happy. We are truly happy."

The reason the Red Army succeeded in breaking through a tight encirclement was due not only to its military power, but also to the support of the people. When the Red Army was entering the northern parts of Hunan, and passing by Zixing, Chenzhou, Yizhang and so on where Mao Zedong and Zhu De had carried out their activities for a long time and spread propaganda among

the masses, once residents learned that the Red Army would pass by again, they waited along the roads where the soldiers would pass to supply them with water and tea. During the march, in every village and township the Red Army passed, men and women, old and young stood by the roadside. There was a crowd of spectators. A few years before, when Mao Zedong and Zhu De carried out their activities in various counties in the southern part of Hunan, some residents had joined the Red Army. When the Red Army passed by these areas again, family members of these soldiers stood on the intersections to ask the Red Army men whether their sons or nephews were still alive. A leader of the administrative department of the health section (a post equivalent to a mess officer in the Nanjing troops) was a native of Wenmingsi village in Yizang County. When the army was passing by the village, his old mother greeted him at the roadside. However, the troops continued their march after a 15-minute break. The head of the administrative department asked the chief staff officer of the health section for a 2-hour leave (at that time, the health section was an echelon) in order to return home. He returned to the section on the same day with 10 peasants who intended to join the Red Army and 2 peasants who intended to become porters (one of them was a porter who later helped me carry my luggage). He also brought homemade sweet white wine and gave some to me and other people (the wine was made of rice, far better than that produced in Jiangxi).

The reason peasants in the southern parts of Hunan Province accepted the communist propaganda was partly due to the activities of the communists and the bullying and the humiliation imposed by local tyrants and evil members of the gentry on peasants. When those local tyrants and evil members of the gentry returned to their former villages after the withdrawal of Mao Zedong and Zhu De from the southern parts of Hunan, they extorted money from the poor peasants in the name of searching for the communists. Therefore, peasants returned bad for evil, and poor people also hated them very much. The porter whom the head of the administrative department had recruited for me said: "A few days ago when we learned that the Red Army would be coming back, more than 30 households in our village, which were persecuted by district head Li, held a secret meeting to stealthily keep watch on his movements. On the morning of the day before yesterday when the defense corps retreated from Wenmingsi village, more than 100 men and women from these 30 households or so arrested district head Li in a village more than 20 li away from the town. At 1200 the day before yesterday, district head Li was seized and handed over to the command of the Red Army. They also led a company of the Red Army soldiers to search a mountain and discovered more than 20 rifles and pistols of the defense corps. Now 50 members from these 30 or so households have become Red Army fighters." He added: "We poor people have food to eat only after the Red Army has come. I, as a porter, get 1 yuan every 2 days. In the meantime, I get a 10-day salary as a family allowance. Two days ago, 88 peasants from the 2 villages near my home joined the Red Army as porters." Peasants in the southern parts of Hunan fully trusted the Communist Party. Such things happened not in one locality alone. I saw such things happen in various towns, townships, and villages in the southern part of Hunan Province and Quanzhou, which the Red Army passed by when it was crossing the Xiang Jiang.

The reason the Red Army enjoyed the ardent support of the people was not only because the peasants in the village supported the propaganda and moves of the Red Army of "expropriating the local tyrants to distribute their land," and "confiscating the grain and rice of the local tyrants and evil gentry to distribute them among peasants," but also because the Red Army strictly observed discipline. The three main rules of discipline and the eight points of attention (I no longer remember their contents) of the Red Army of Mao Zedong and Zhu De were fully observed by the soldiers. For example, when the troops entered Tingshou country market (a big township in the southern part of Hunan) and Yizang City, the paper money issued by the Red Army was convertible into silver dollars. Therefore, the shops in the whole city operated their business as usual with the exception of a few big shop owners who had fled because they were afraid of being suspected as local tyrants and the evil gentry. Their business volume increased by 300 percent. I had never seen this when I served the Nanjing troops for many years and when the troops were marching along, or stationed in remote villages and districts. In the past, various provinces were reluctant to accept bank notes issued by the Central Bank. Since there were no branches of the bank set up in various localities, these bank notes were, of course, not convertible into silver dollars. Therefore, when the Nanjing troops arrived in certain localities, the military command issued an order that "the bank notes can be used in the city." However, since there were no offices responsible for converting the bank notes, businessmen and common people doubted the convertibility of the bank notes issued by the Central Bank. In particular, the soldiers of the Nanjing troops did not observe discipline. This left a very bad impression on the local residents.

There was another thing that the KMT troops lacked, and this matter provided me with much food for deep thought. When the Red Army was passing by Yizang, there were more than 400 workers building the Guangdong-Hankou railway (at that time the project was not yet completed and the railway was only temporarily open to traffic). There were several Communist Party members among the workers, who had secretly carried out their activities for many years. One of the Communist Party members was a student. He was sent by the party to carry out activities among railway workers. When the Red Army came, all the workers joined the army. When I passed by the area, I saw railway workers undergoing military drill and carrying their rifles. The Red Army sent officers to train them. After working as a railway worker for several years, the communist student became a political commissar. (The post of political commissar was set up in units above the level of battalion. The political commissar had fairly great power.) On that day, he was delivering a speech to workers. The matter made me recall past events when the KMT was carrying out the Northern Expedition, and the masses in various localities reacted to it warmly. The northern expeditionary troops smashed all enemy resistance, just like troops from heaven. However, after the split between the KMT and the CPC, such a warm response no longer occurred. People of the whole country were disappointed with the KMT. The communists quietly immersed themselves in hard work. However, the KMT members hankered after fame and gain. Have we seen any KMT member working hard in the three northeastern provinces under the rule of the Japanese forces? I deeply feel that the communist forces have been deeply rooted in the society. It is difficult for the KMT to succeed in "suppressing the communist bandits" and annihilating them.

The successful crossing of the Xiang Jiang by the Red Army meant a complete defeat of the Xue and Zhou and the Guangxi troops, which tried to intercept the Red Army. It was also difficult for them to follow the trail of the Red Army, because after crossing the Xiang Jiang, the Red Army climbed and crossed over the Xiyan mountain chain of the Yuecheng ridge.¹³ The KMT troops were unable to chase and suppress the Red Army because of the rolling hills. In the meantime, the rear guard of the Red Army resisted the attacks continuously. At the same time, the vanguard units of the Red Army had already advanced westward toward the Hunan-Guizhou border.

The reason the Red Army successfully climbed and crossed over the rolling Xiyan ridge and avoided losses in the mountains and sparsely populated areas should be attributed to the good points of the officers and men of the Red Army in bearing hardships and withstanding hard work, and to their other merits. All these were things the KMT troops lacked.

Laoshanjie,¹⁴ the peak of the Xiyan mountain chain, was the first high mountain that I had climbed in the past 10 years or so. Qianjiasi¹⁵ was located at the foot of Laoshanjie. I could still remember that the health section arrived at Qianjiasi in the afternoon. After lunch and a short break, we then climbed the mountain. After climbing the mountain for about 20 li, we arrived in a small village where there were seven or eight households. At that time, it was getting dark. Porters and grooms were busy looking for torches. The troops kept on marching although it was already dark. Some of our soldiers did not have torches (because there was only a limited number of households in the village, and the materials for making torches were not available), they could only grope their way in the dark. They marched very slowly. Our 6th Company marched at the head of the column. We had to stop after each single step. It was cold and windy, and the mountain was high. The flow of the spring water under the mountain was like 10 thousand horses galloping ahead. We were extremely tired, but we dared not close our eyes, because the path was very narrow with a width of only one customs chi.¹⁶ During the march, a nurse slipped and fell into a ditch because it was very dark and she had no torch, and she was also very tired. A soldier acted under orders to hold the branches of a tree and climb down into the ditch to rescue her. But the nurse's body was all covered with mud, and she was so frightened that she could not speak even a word. People drew a lesson from this incident, and walked slowly and cautiously. Due to the fact that the column advanced very slowly, two or three of the torches, which were prepared that afternoon, had already burned out. Later, there were no torches. There were only a few, scattered barn lanterns. The advance of the column was getting slower and slower. After moving several steps, people had to halt for 50 minutes. They could neither walk nor rest. It was already 0200, and a verbal order from the commander was passed from the front to the rear: "Various companies should encamp at road side. Mess cooks from various companies go to the front to prepare food." People passed the verbal order one by one and said: "Pass the order to the back"; ...we were really very tired.

Although the road was wet, we lay down in disorder and covered ourselves with quilts. We fell asleep very soon. We had never slept so soundly in our lives. In less than 20 minutes, people snored and went off to dreamland.

The next morning, the reveille was sounded before daybreak. We got up and ate our breakfast. We also had our midday meal prepared. According to the local inhabitants, the distance from that place to Tangzhuang¹⁷ was 60 li, and the distance to the mountain foot was 40 li.

The column could not march faster because the mountain was too steep. When climbing the mountain, we had pains in our legs and felt exhausted even without carrying any load. It was indeed hard for those porters to climb the mountain carrying 35 jin loads on shoulder poles.

The Political Department of the Red Army marched in front of the general health section. Important figures of the central government of the Red areas Lin Zuhua,¹⁸ Xu Teli and others were marching together with other members of the Political Department. During the march I met Lin and Xu from time to time. When we were climbing Laoshan jie, I saw them walking and climbing the mountain. Lin Zuhua was financial minister of the central government in the Red areas. He worked together with Sun Yat-sen to establish the Feng Meng Hui, and lead the 1911 revolution. During the Northern Expedition, he was a party representative of the 6th Army of the National Revolutionary Army. The financial plans of the Red areas were worked out by him. Lin was about 50. Although his hair had already turned grey, he was in good health. During the march which lasted more than 8 months, he rode a horse for only 18 days. He often walked. Xu Teli was a deputy education minister. He was over 50. Xu originally had a horse. On the way, when he learned that there were not enough donkeys and horses for wounded soldiers, he transferred his horse to the health section for the use of wounded soldiers. After that, he went on foot during the march. These two old men Lin and Xu preserved their integrity. The older they got, the stronger they became. Such a spirit was what the important officers of the Nanjing government lacked.

Laoshan jie was a high mountain which made people feel frightened. When we reached one mountain top, we saw that there was yet another peak in front. However, when we reached that peak, we found out there was another peak. In this way, we climbed one peak after another. We were gasping for breath and sweating all over. Just then, we heard an indistinct song transmitted from a gramophone: "You, Mao Yanshou, are a traitor who should be accused of..." After the song, we heard another song: "Comrades, let us take up our swords and rifles quickly! We are the armed forces of the people. We want to overthrow imperialism and the KMT..." It was the propaganda team of the Political Department that carried out its own activities in a propaganda shed to encourage people in the march and inspire the spirit of the troops so they forgot their fatigue on the march. Comrades of the propaganda team wrote with chalk on a stone beside the propaganda shed: "Exert more effort, comrades! We will reach the peak after walking for another 25 li." "Let us compete, and see who will be the first to reach the peak." After hearing the songs transmitted by the gramophone in the propaganda shed and singing songs, we truly forgot the fatigue resulting from our march. Those young nurses in our team also sang: "...XXX should be abused, because you are a traitor.¹⁹ Why do you throw in your lot with the Japanese? You are utterly devoid of conscience." Their song incited us to sing: "Let us smash the tortoiseshells of the KMT, we feel truly happy...."

While singing, we kept on marching. We climbed 12 peaks and eventually reached the top of the mountain. We felt happy and excited after that. It was already 1600. After climbing a mountain 80 li in height, we eventually reached the top.

The distance from the mountain top to Tangzhuang was said to be 20 li, but we actually traversed 35 li. We had to feel our way in the dark for part of our journey. We arrived at Tangzhuang at night and encamped there.

Laoshanjie, which was 80 li in height, was, of course, not high compared with other mountains climbed later by other Red Army units. However, it was not easy to keep on marching for 2 days and 2 nights without many soldiers and porters dropping out (wounded soldiers of the health section also arrived at the destination). All this should be attributed to the unity of the soldiers and porters in the Red Army. In the meantime, during the march, the Political Department of the Red Army adopted methods such as setting up propaganda sheds and other things to mitigate the fatigue and inspire the people's spirit. This truly showed that they had worked out a well-conceived plan.

The Red Army faced numerous difficulties around the Xiyan mountain range. One of the greatest difficulties was that whenever it arrived at a village or township, all the houses and grain there were burned. Who actually did this? At the beginning, common people thought that it was done by the Red Army. However, I did not completely believe this, because many townships and villages had been burned down before the Red Army arrived. Why should the Red Army create difficulties for itself? With all the houses and grain burned, did this not mean that soldiers of the Red Army had no place to live and had nothing to eat? The whole thing eventually came to light. The Red Army was stationed at Guangnan stockaded village (located at the north-western part of Longsheng County in Guangxi).²⁰ One morning, when the units of the general health section assembled near the fields outside the Guangnan stockaded village to start our journey, we found out that three houses in the township were on fire. It was obvious that some people had committed arson. Commander He Cheng of the general health section ordered the garrison company to search the township. Later, seven or eight people in Red Army uniforms, who had committed the arson, were arrested. When we talked with them, we found out that they spoke with a Guangxi accent. They admitted that they were employed by the county government of Longsheng to burn citizens' houses. Each of them got a remuneration of 2 yuan every day. The first purpose was to deprive the Red Army of places to live and food to eat. The second purpose was to make residents hate the Red Army. When we asked them where they got the Red Army uniforms, they answered that their uniforms were formerly worn by Red Army soldiers and porters who had dropped out, and were later captured and killed by the county government. After that, the uniforms were worn by those who were sent to set fires and pretended to be Red Army soldiers so after their houses were burned down, the residents would bear a grudge against the Red Army. These people had burned houses and grain in several townships. Wearing Red Army uniforms, they pretended to be sick soldiers or those who had dropped out. Every day, they followed the trail of the Red Army, or pretended to be Red Army reconnaissance

troops. When they learned that the Red Army was going to a certain place, they burned all the houses there.

Of course, the chief of the general health section He Cheng was not a stupid man. After hearing what these captives had said, he ordered all members of the section to carry out fire fighting. After putting out the fire, he called the residents of the township together to attend a meeting.

At the meeting, about seven or eight people, who had pretended to be Red Army soldiers and committed arson, were asked to make a confession. After that, several hundred residents immediately cuffed and kicked them. They were almost beaten to death. Suddenly, He Cheng said: "While framing the Red Army, the warlords and bureaucrats of Guangxi have brutally persecuted you so you become homeless. The Red Army helps the common people. We helped you in fire fighting. You are much to be pitied. As for those whose houses were burned, the Red Army will provide relief to them with the money we confiscated from the local tyrants. You may get the money over there. As for these fellows who committed arson, how will you deal with them?" After hearing He Cheng's speech, several hundred residents unanimously said that the seven or eight people should be executed by shooting. As a result, those guys were dragged to a place outside the township, and other people followed them. Not long after that, the residents returned to get their money from a table placed in a certain corner of a meeting place. Later, some 50 to 60 young and vigorous people approached He Cheng and said: "We want to join the Red Army." More than 100 people successively entered their names to join the Red Army.

This event convinced me that although the leader of the Guangxi troops, Bai Chongxi, was called a young Zhuge Liang, setting fires and putting the blame on the Red Army was cruel and unwise. The incident at Cuangnan stockaded village would make residents hate the local authorities all the more. This could only help the Red Army win further popular support!

The Red Army continued its northwestern march from Guangnan stockaded village to Lianghekou²¹ and Niupishan, which were located at the border of Guangxi and Hunan. The western part of this locality was Tongdao County, Hunan. It also linked with Suining in the north, and Shanjiang in the south. At that time, the main forces of the Xue and Zhou column and the Hunan troops were deployed in Bucheng, Suining, Jingxian, Huitong and other places to prevent the Red Army from marching northward to join forces with the Red Army led by He Long and Xiao Ke. The Guangxi troops were deployed along the Guangxi-Hunan border to block the southward march of the Red Army, and follow its trail. At that time, the vanguard units of the Red Army already occupied Tongdao County. They avoided the main enemy force and took advantage of its weak point to march toward Liping Prefecture in Guizhou.

The enemy troops that defended the eastern and northern parts of Guizhou were the two divisions of Hou Zhidan. Hou Zhidan was one of the three military leaders in Guizhou (Wang Jialie, You Guocai, and Hou Zhidan). Although Hou Zhidan's troops claimed to be two divisions strong, their weapons and ammunition were locally made by Chishui munitions factory.

They lacked modern weapons. How could such a military strength withstand the attack of the Red Army led by Mao Zedong and Zhu De? The Red Army assaulted from several directions and seized Jinping, Liuji,²² Jianhe, and Taigong²³ to enter Zhenyuan and occupy a highway linking it with Guizhou. The troops of Hou Zhidan were defeated repeatedly, and retreated to the bank of Wu Jiang. At that time, Wang Jialie's troops were stationed at Xinhuangping. After being attacked by the Red Army, they abandoned the city and fled. The Red Army had completely occupied Zhenyuan, Shibing, and Huangping.

The Red Army entered Guizhou from Hunan. It seized a lot of booty. At least one division of the troops of Hou Zhidan were disarmed, and they successfully lost the three cities of Liping, Huangping, and Zhenyuan. In particular, Zhenyuan was an important commercial center which was linked with the western part of Hunan.

The Red Army purchased a large quantity of cloth in various cities. After winning one victory after another, their morale was high. They completely rid themselves of the fatigue resulting from the march in Hunan.

People like me who were used to living in big cities in Jiangsu and Zhejiang infested with foreign adventurers could not imagine the poverty of the people in Guizhou. Those who planted crops wore unlined garments during winter, which were ragged and worn out. Every person had "casual wear" that was sewed and mended again and again. Children had not a stitch on even in winter. The only method people used to keep out the cold was to "warm themselves by a fire." It was true that "heaven never seals off all exists." In this poor region, coal could be found everywhere. Anthracite, which cost more than 30 yuan in Shanghai, was sold for a string of 1,000 cash in the province. One silver dollar could be converted into 20 strings of 1,000 cash. When we passed by a certain village near Jianhe County, we saw an old woman and a child in unlined garments lying down by a roadside, but they were still alive. After talking with her for a while, we discovered that she was a woman from a local peasant household. After the autumn harvest, they paid local tyrants with the crops they had reaped (for land rent). They begged for their bread all day. That morning, the weather suddenly turned cold. After they got up, they had nothing to eat. Therefore, they lay down by the roadside. When we were talking with them, the leader of the Red Army, Mao Zedong, came along. We told him what the old woman had said. Hearing this, Mao took off his woolen sweater and a sheet from his luggage, and gave them to the old woman. He also ordered the cadres concerned to give her one day of rice. Smiling, she repeatedly expressed her gratitude and left.

There were many people of the Miao nationality in various counties in the eastern part of Guizhou. In the past, I had seen some pictures and reports on the Miao villages in DONGFANG ZAZHI [ORIENTAL MAGAZINE]. I saw with my own eyes the conditions of the Miao people, and lived in their homes. The Miao people call themselves members of the Miao family and call the Han people members of the Han family. Since the Han people always bullied the Miao people, fighting with weapons frequently broke out between groups of

Miao people and Han people. The Miao men wore Han dress and the clothing worn by the Miao women was like that in vogue at the end of the Qing period and the early period of the Republic of China, characterized by broad brims, loose sleeves, and long gowns. The Miao language was different from that of the Han. However, the Miao people in general could speak the Han language. The Miao people were fond of fighting, and always carried sharp swords with them. In the eastern part of Guizhou Province, and Miao people and the Han people coexisted for a long time. The Miao people lived in various places outside the cities. Some Miao people lived together with the Han people. Their houses were made of wood, and the roofs were covered with hay or the bark of pine trees. Wooden fences were put around the houses. The Miao people lived on corn, or sometimes on rice. But they did not store rice. They put their unhusked rice in the storehouses built on tree branches. When they wanted to eat rice, they first had to thresh it.

Once the Red Army entered Guizhou, it did everything possible to carry out activities among the Miao people. The Miao people supported the Red Army because they were influenced by its propaganda of advocating national equality, emancipating the Miao people, and opposing the oppression of the Miao people by Guizhou warlords. It also encouraged the Han people living in the Miao region to confiscate the property and rice of those district chiefs who frequently bullied the poor Miao people, and distribute them among Han people and the Miao people. The Red Army also distributed the rifles and pistols seized from the civilian corps among the Miao people in order to arm them. The Red Army not only avoided clashes with the Miao people, but also took their interests into consideration. For example, when the Red Army was in Liping, the Political Department issued circulars to various units, ordering them to strictly observe discipline in the Miao region. Each and every soldier of the Red Army was also asked to give one thing to the Miao families.

The poor people of the Han and Miao nationalities in general in Guizhou were truly influenced by the propaganda of the Red Army. When Xiao Ke entered the western part of Hunan from the border of the province, he went through Guizhou Province. He made a good impression on the local Han and Miao people. Therefore, when the Red Army led by Mao Zedong and Zhu De arrived in the region, the Miao people did not flee. On the contrary, a great number of local people joined the Red Army. They sometimes asked when the Red Army would "give peace to the people." With the help of the people of the Han and Miao nationalities, the Red Army never starved in these poor regions.

The reason the poor people of the Han and Miao nationalities in Guizhou supported the policy of the Red Army was due not only to the activities of the Red Army, but also to the evil deeds of the local corrupt officials, tyrants, and evil gentry. The oppression of the Guizhou people by warlords was hard to imagine for people living in Zhejiang. Able-bodied men were subjected to conscription. Exorbitant taxes and levies were imposed on them. They were forced to plant tobacco seedlings.²⁴ Peasants led a hard life. They toiled all the year round without enough to eat. On the eve of the Red Army entering Guizhou Province, Hou Zhidan had already twice collected money for "suppressing the Red bandits." Since the troops harmed rather than protected the people, this actually helped the communists win popular support.

In Guizhou, apart from seeing with my own eyes the poverty of the local people, I also encountered three things which people living along the Chang Jiang valley could never experience. 1) Opium was planted everywhere; 2) there was some drizzle almost every day; and 3) there were high mountains everywhere in the province. There was no level land like that in Hunan and Jiangxi, not to mention plains like those in Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces. The geographical conditions of Guizhou were described as: "Sunshine never lasts more than 3 days, and there is no level land more than 3 li in length. Money owned by the people never exceeds 3 fen." Such a description was in accord with facts. During my stay in Guizhou Province for 2 months, there were less than 3 sunny days.

The battle of the Wu Jiang was the first fierce battle fought by the Red Army after entering Guizhou. At that time, Hou Zhidan's troops guarded the northern bank of the Wu Jiang, whereas the Red Army had occupied the two cities of Yuqing and Wengan, and was marching toward Houchang.²⁵ Houchang was one of the four main townships in the northern part of Guizhou with developed commerce. When I arrived in Houchang, the township had already been occupied by the Red Army for 3 days. I arrived at the township on New Year's Day of the solar calendar. Notices and slogans of the Red Army were put up everywhere. Every Red Army soldier got special allowances for the New Year. The business volume of shops and peddlars increased 300 percent because of this. Most local residents could describe how "Army Commander Xiao" (the Red Army units led by Xiao Ke) passed by Houchang. At that time, due to the fact that the Red Army had not succeeded in driving out Hou's troops deployed at the northern bank of the Wu Jiang, the rear-guard units temporarily stayed in Houchang. The next day, an old man came. He brought with him a sick person. When we talked with them, the sick man said that he was a native of Lianhua in Jiangxi, and that when the Red Army units led by Xiao Ke passed by the area, he was ill. He was entrusted to the care of a local resident. Since he was recovering from the illness, he was willing to follow the Red Army units led by Mao Zedong and Zhu De. Therefore, the old man brought him to the headquarters. This made me feel that the Red Army soldiers had been well trained by the Communist Party, and that they fully trusted it.

On the third day, our troops marched to Jiangjie He located near the Wu Jiang. Arriving at the bank of the river, I truly felt that the Wu Jiang was a natural military barrier. High mountains and precipices could be found at both sides of the river. The river was much broader than the Xiang Jiang, and its flow was rapid with a current velocity of 2 to 3 mite per second.²⁶ Without using any boats, the Red Army built a floating bamboo bridge. People could walk across the bridge without carrying any load. The distance between each person on the bridge had to be one mite. Later, the Red Army seized a boat which was used to carry radio communication facilities and horses. When I was walking across the bridge and saw the rapid flow of the river, I felt fearful. There were high mountains on the northern bank of the river. The troops led by Hou built defense works at the strategic locations, where were difficult to cross. All these could be clearly seen.

Seven Red Army soldiers and two soldiers of the Guizhou troops, who had been wounded during the battle of Wu Jiang, were carried by the stretcher team of the general health section. When I was treating them, a slightly wounded soldier told me the whole course of the battle of the Wu Jiang.

While the troops led by Hou were defending the northern bank of the river by using their fortifications, the Red Army soldiers moved toward the river bank under the cover of the trees and bamboo forest at dawn. The Red Army used machineguns and mortars to shell the northern bank of the river. Hou's units returned fire. However, their portable machine guns and submachine guns²⁷ were locally made by Chishui munitions factory and had a limited firing range. The bullets could not reach the southern bank. Therefore, after making several bamboo rafts, the Red Army pushed toward the river bank. Some soldiers from the engineering company and infantry company forged the river by making use of the bamboo rafts. However, due to the swift current, the first two rafts were washed away by the water. But the Red Army did not lose heart. They made use of six or seven rafts again to cross the river. Six of them reached the northern bank. The Red Army soldiers leaped to the river bank to strike at the soldiers of Hou's units, who were in the fortifications. Later, the defense works were occupied by the Red Army. Hou's soldiers retreated to the fortifications halfway up the mountain, and shot downward. Just then, when the Red Army soldiers were holding fast to their positions around the fortifications, their bamboo rafts crossed the river one after another from the southern bank. Three hours later, some soldiers of the Red Army suddenly appeared at a location 12 li away from the upper reaches of the river to launch a sneak attack on a certain unit of Hou's troops. After that, they hit the enemy troops at the lower reaches from the flank, and launched a surprise attack on the enemy rear guards by making a detour. In that way, some of the enemy units laid down their weapons and surrendered, and some other units broke out of the encirclement to retreat to Tuanxi²⁸ and Zunyi. While building a bridge at the other side of the river, the Red Army pursued and attacked the enemy. Liu Bocheng, the Red Army officer who commanded the battle of Wu Jiang, was a famous officer in Sichuan. He had defeated Wu Peifu,²⁹ and enjoyed great prestige among the units of the Sichuan troops. He joined the Communist Party in Sichuan. After the split of the KMT and CPC, he led the Sichuan troops to stage an uprising in Luzhou.

After the Red Army had crossed the Wu Jiang, the remaining units of Hou's troops could no longer resist its attack. After occupying Tuanxi, the Red Army followed up a victory with hot pursuit. It covered a distance of 200 li, and kept on marching and attacking the enemy. It eventually occupied Zunyi City at 0300 on the third day. In the meantime, other Red Army units attacked and occupied Meitan and Suiyang from the right side. The Red Army in the middle route occupied Songkanchang³⁰ near Tongzi City and the Sichuan-Guizhou border, and defeated Li Ze's brigade of Sichuan troops. It seemed as if the Red Army would push on to Chongqing in the flush of victory. At that time, rich and powerful people in Chongqing were anxious and disturbed, the huishui³¹ for sending money from Sichuan to Shanghai increased by 70 percent. This showed the worries and uneasiness of the rich. However, after eliminating Hou's troops, the Red Army did not continue to

advance. The Red Army units had a rest and built up their strength in Zunyi, Tongzi, Meitan, and Suiyang.

The Red Army made magnificent achievements after entering the northern part of Guizhou:

The first achievement was: The two divisions of Hou Zhidan were defeated, and most of their weapons and ammunition were seized. This considerably replenished the ammunition depots of the Red Army. Because of such an adequate supply of weapons and ammunition, the Red Army was able to defeat the two divisions of Wang Jialie and the two divisions of Xue Yue of the Nanjing troops in charge of chasing and suppressing the bandits when it reentered Zunyi City. A great number of such small "warlords" were eliminated during the operation of "suppressing the Red bandits." They savagely oppressed the people. However, when they were attacked, they retreated in defeat and fled in panic. They supplied the Red Army with weapons and ammunition. Therefore, the Red Army called military leaders of Nanjing and other provinces, chiefs of the transportation corps, and Chiang Kai-shek, general chief.

The second achievement was: After resting for 12 days to build up its strength in the northern part of Guizhou, the Red Army recovered from the fatigue suffered during the war in southern parts of Hunan, and was in great spirits. In subsequent wars, its combat effectiveness was not weakened at all. On the contrary, it was doughty as a dragon and lively as a tiger.

At that time, the reason the Red Army could have a 12-day rest was because the units of Xue and Zhou of Nanjing's suppression army rushed to Guiyang to gain the control of the city. They were unwilling to attack the Red Army for fear of suffering losses. However, small warlords like Hou Zhidan and Wang Jialie had to bear their tragic lot. Xue Yue used their troops to resist the attack of the Red Army. He made use of the Red Army to eradicate their military strength. When their troops were completely defeated, they were either executed, or forced to retire from the political scene. No wonder the authorities of various provinces sighed with feeling and said: Bows are cast aside once the birds are gone. They were more afraid of the Nanjing troops than of the Red Army. This was because the Red Army carried out its activities only in villages and remote districts, but the Nanjing troops were perfectly entitled to seize the territory under the control of these local authorities. They would send local troops to attack the Red Army so that they suffered losses. This situation was what a common saying described as: "Axe hitting chisel, and chisel hitting wood." Xue Yue was ordered to chase and suppress the bandits. This was not a task which he was willing to undertake.

The third achievement of the Red Army was the winning of the support of the people. The discipline of the Red Army in the eastern part of Guizhou was better than that of Hou Zhidan's troops. The news spread throughout Guizhou Province.

When the Red Army came, businessmen and citizens of Zunyi City did not flee. Members of the orphans' vocational training institute, students, and poor people gathered to welcome the Red Army, waving flags and posters. Words and phrases welcoming Chairman Mao of the soviet government and commander in chief of the Red Army, Zhu De, were written on the posters. Mao Zedong and Zhu De entered Zunyi City amid shouting of slogans and setting off fire-crackers. In a square at the city gate, they shook hands with various representatives one after another. After that, they spoke briefly to the masses who welcomed them, expressing thanks for their welcome. They also said that the Red Army was willing to relieve the people of Guizhou Province of their sufferings.

On the third day after entering the city, the Red Army held a rally at the sports field of the Third Secondary School, which was personally attended by Mao Zedong and Zhu De. About 10,000 workers, peasants, students and businessmen, who were influenced by propaganda, participated in the meeting, holding banners. Zhu De delivered a speech on the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention of the Red Army, stressing that the Red Army was willing to unite with people and troops from various quarters throughout the country to resist Japan. In his speech, Mao Zedong said that the Red political power would not levy exorbitant taxes and levies on the people, and that it would carry out general elections, resist Japan, and so forth.

Such Red Army propaganda greatly influenced the people in Guizhou Province. The Red Army announced the establishment of a revolutionary committee at the rally. A score of students, workers, peasants, and businessmen were elected members of the committee, and invited to deliver speeches. Some of them were members of the educational field. A few days later, teams composed of several hundred people, which were in charge of the struggle against payment of levies, were set up. They voluntarily ferreted out corrupt officials, and confiscated their property. They beat gongs to attract the masses to spread leaflets among them. Several thousand people gathered in the courtyard of the county government office to wait for the distribution of the "clothes of the local tyrants."

While carrying out the propaganda, the Red Army recruited new soldiers. In a period of 12 days, 4,000 to 5,000 people joined the Red Army. They were natives of Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan, or ex-servicemen. Since they were familiar with the local situation in Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan, their participation helped the Red Army a lot. The fact that Mao Zedong and Zhu De could fight in one place after another in the northern part of Guizhou was due to the efforts of these people.

The Red Army handled matters in a prompt and effective manner. I never saw this in the KMT troops. On the second day after entering Zunyi City, a clothing factory, machinery repair plant, and army provisions factory were established. New soldiers got their uniforms very soon, and broken weapons were repaired very rapidly.

There were about 300 or so wounded soldiers in the general health section. After resting in that period, they recovered from illness and left the hospital. Commander in Chief Zhu De of the Red Army personally went to wards of the general health section to visit wounded soldiers, and had a 30-minute talk with wounded soldiers who had taken part in the battle of Wu Jiang. Two soldiers of Hou Zhidan's troops, who were wounded in the battle of Wu Jiang, were taken in by the general health section, and provided with medical treatment. Zhu De also had a brief talk with them, asking them to have a good rest.

When I was working with the army, I toured the whole city of Zunyi in my leisure time. Zunyi was located in a communications hub of the northern part of Guizhou. It was linked with a highway leading to Songkanchang at the border of Sichuan in the north.

Going southward from Zunyi and crossing the Wu Jiang, one could reach Guiyang. Zunyi was an important port in Guizhou linking up with Chongqing in Sichuan. Due to the fact that it was located at the border of Sichuan, customs and business practice in the city were closely connected with those of Sichuan Province. Zunyi City was divided into old and new parts. The new part was a business region, whereas the old part was a district of government offices and residential quarters. There was a river separating the two parts of the city, and a bridge over the river. Government offices and temples were fully occupied by the Red Army soldiers. It was reported that the general headquarters of the Red Army was located in the mansion of Bo Huizhang, a division commander of the Guizhou troops. Mao Zedong and Zhu De also lived in the mansion. There were five or six boys' and girls' secondary schools in the entire Zunyi City. The Red Army did not station troops in these schools to show that it attached importance to education. At that time, classes had not yet begun in those schools. The Red Army paid special attention to young students, and sent people to organize anti-Japanese national salvation associations and societies of the friends of the Red Army, and others among those young students. On the first day when the Red Army entered the city, a score of boy and girl students, who were mostly secondary school students, held banners and delivered speeches to support the Red Army. When I passed by the No 3 County Secondary School, I saw a student basketball team and a Red Army basketball team playing a match. The Red Army had good ball game skills, because it always attached importance to physical training. The Red Army did everything possible to encourage the young students. This showed that they paid great attention to them.

There was one thing which was still fresh in my mind. When the Red Army was establishing the Revolutionary Committee in Zunyi, Li Xiaoxia, a 20-year-old girl student, delivered a speech at the rally to express her sympathy for the Red Army. Later, she was elected one of the members of the Revolutionary Committee. She was good at promoting social intercourse among local students. When the Red Army withdrew from Zunyi, Li Xiaoxia also followed the army and left the city.

When I was walking around the entire city, I found out that there were three kinds of shops whose business was brisk: 1) Stores which sold foreign goods: their overshoes, towels and other things were sold out. 2) Bookstores: there were three bookstores in Zunyi City, which sold magazines published in Shanghai and Nanjing. Their new and old books, pencils, notebooks, etc. were also sold out. 3) Eating houses: business volume of cooked noodle and bread shops and restaurants increased by 300 percent. Eating houses in Zunyi City were good at cooking Sichuan dishes. I once went to a restaurant with two or three friends to eat some Sichuan dishes such as twice-cooked pork, chicken cooked with chili seasoning, and various kinds of pickled vegetables. The prices were cheap.

Therefore, when the Red Army was in Zunyi, shops ran their business as usual, because paper money issued by the Red Army could be converted daily into silver dollars. The Red Army confiscated the salt business run by Wang Jialie, provincial chairman of Guizhou, which was valued at tens of thousands of yuan. Wang Jialie also ordered Baijinlong brand cigarettes from Shanghai's Nanyang Tobacco Company, which were valued at 50,000 yuan. These cigarettes were originally going to be given as presents to soldiers of Xue Yue's troops during the Lunar New Year. These cigarettes were also confiscated by the Red Army. Some of the salt and cigarettes were distributed among poor people in Zunyi and Tongzi Cities, and the rest were sold. Every yuan of paper money issued by the Red Army could buy 7 jin of salt, or 4 tins of Baijinlong brand cigarettes. The price was cheaper than that in Pingxi. With revenues from salt and cigarettes, the Red Army could convert the paper money it issued into silver dollars. After resting for 12 days in the northern part of Guizhou, the entire Red Army continued its journey. It passed by Tongzi and Xishui, and crossed the Chishui River from Tucheng. After that, it advanced southward toward Sichuan.

Tongzi County was a gate in the northern part of Guizhou leading to Sichuan. The county town was not big, only covering a width of 1 li or so from the north to the south. But there was one characteristic of the county town which I could never forget. Tongzi County town was the hometown of the military and government leaders of Guizhou Province over the years. A score of beautiful and imposing Western-style houses were built. All these Western-style houses belonged to important military and government leading figures of Guizhou. However, numerous crude thatched cottages were built around these Western-style houses. Private cars were parked in front of the houses of these important military and government leading figures. They could conveniently travel to Zunyi and the border areas of Sichuan. However, the poor people who worked hard all the year round with baskets carried on their backs, had not enough food to eat. The gap between the rich and the poor was so conspicuous.

We started our journey from Tongzi, went through Liangcun, and eventually arrived at Tucheng.³² We advanced along a broad and steep road. Some parts of the road were accessible to cars. But it was the most difficult road in China for cars to traverse. When I walked along the road, it was snowing. The road was wet and slippery. It was truly the most difficult journey. When I was climbing a mountain near the west city gate of Tongzi, I saw

Mao Zedong, leader of the Red Army, climbing up the mountain with a stick. His legs and knees were all covered with mud. Probably the road was too slippery, and he slipped and fell down into a mire.

The Red Army built floating bridges from Tucheng and Taipingdu across the Chishui River. After crossing the river, it marched toward the southern part of Gulin. It entered Sichuan from Guizhou in this way. Later, the Red Army continued to march westward journey in Hunan and Guizhou Provinces. In particular, the Lianghe pass was the most difficult of access. The distance from Lianghe pass to Weixin County was 30 li. There was a ditch in the middle of the two sides of the cliffs. There was a small path at one side of the cliff. If only a length of 5 chi of the small path had been obstructed, it would have been impossible for the Red Army to pass through. After encountering numerous difficulties, the Red Army eventually arrived at Weixin County of Yunnan (its old name was Zhaxi, which was located at the Yunnan-Guizhou border). The Red Army arrived at Weixin County on the 3d day of the 1st month of the old Chinese calendar.³³ It took a rest for 1 day in the county. However, it was extremely cold, and it snowed hard at night.

The issue of nationalities in Yunnan merited attention. Long Yun³⁴ was a person of Yi nationality. Middle-ranking and senior military and government officers in Yunnan were people of the Yi nationality. The Han people were oppressed. Before the Red Army arrived in Weixin, a person, who was a graduate of Beijing University and a former magistrate of a certain county, met the leaders of the Red Army in a village. He said that he was willing to lead the local civil corps, and call on the civil corps of other counties to help the Red Army attack Yunnan in order to free the Han people from oppression. When the Red Army was in the region, it put forward a slogan of the emancipation of nationalities in order to win the sympathy of the people of various nationalities, such as Han, Hui, Miao, and others. Later, the Red Army sent the 9th Army Group led by Luo Binghui (a native of Yunnan who served in the Yunnan troops for a long time. He was a subordinate of Zhu Peide. He was an underground Communist Party member. When he was a commander of the civil corps in Jian of Jiangxi Province, he led several hundred members of the civil corps to join the Red Army) to carry out activities in Bejie, Xuanwei, and Dongchuan. The news that 5,000 to 6,000 people from the Han, Hui, and Miao had joined the Red Army shocked all of Yunnan Province. When the news spread among people in Yunnan that Army Commander Luo, a native of Yunnan, would come back to drive out Long Yun, Luo's prestige was greatly enhanced.

Although the Red Army opposed the oppression of Han, Hui, and Miao people by the Yi nationality, it gave publicity to the policy of equality among nationalities, opposing Han chauvinism, and so forth among people of the Yi nationality in general.

The Red Army originally planned to continue to advance westward from Weixin, cross the Niulan Jiang, and enter Sichuan. However, after taking a 1-day rest in Weixin, it retreated eastward suddenly. It was probably difficult to cross the river at that time, and the Red Army would rather

not take the risk. The Red Army's sudden return to the northern part of Guizhou was totally unexpected by the Sichuan and Guizhou troops. The Sichuan troops were originally advancing side by side with the Red Army in the northern part of the province. They planned to turn west to pursue and attack the Red Army, and swiftly advance toward the river bank to block its crossing of the river. However, the Red Army suddenly returned to the eastern part of the Chi He from Weixin. When the Sichuan troops discovered this, the Red Army had already crossed the Chishuihe River and occupied Tongzi and Loushan Pass. Such stratagems of mobile warfare adopted by the Red Army would very often defeat the enemy by a surprise move. This also showed the strong points of Mao Zedong and Zhu De. Therefore, in the Red Army, Mao Zedong was also called Zhuge Liang.

On its way back to Tongzi and Zunyi in the northern part of Guizhou Province, the Red Army won a very great victory. This was one of its greatest victories since it broke out of the encirclement in Jiangxi. All this should be attributed to the well-planned operations of the Red Army. On the day when the Red Army occupied Tongzi, it started reorganizing and outfitting the field hospital. I was assigned by He Cheng to go to the field hospital to take in wounded soldiers. That afternoon, the Red Army engaged the two divisions of Wang Jialie's troops which came from Zunyi to attack the Loushan Pass. Wang's troops launched several attacks on the Loushan Pass, but they were repulsed by the defending troops of the Red Army. Later, the Red Army sent its main forces to outflank Wang's troops and attack and occupy Banqiao township near the highway linking Zunyi and Tongzi, which were areas to the rear of Wang's troops. The route of retreat of Wang's troops was thus cut off. Just then, the defending troops of the Red Army at Loushan Pass also attacked Wang's troops from a commanding height. Wang's troops could no longer withstand the attack, and were completely surrounded. Most soldiers of the two divisions laid down their arms and surrendered, and a small number of soldiers escaped in disorder. The Red Army vigorously pursued and attacked the enemy. It occupied both the new and old sections of Zunyi City at 0300. It was reported that when Wang Jialie fled, he only took with him division commander Bo Huizhang, and several others of his entourage. After the battle, Wang Jialie lost everything. Not long after that, he left Guizhou Province to travel around. He was forced to relinquish power.

The field hospital then followed the army and entered Zunyi City. However, a major battle occurred again the next morning. The two divisions of Xue Yue's troops led by Wu Qiwei advanced northward from Guiyang to attack the Red Army. They crossed the Wu Jiang in order to reinforce Wang's troops. However, Wang's troops were defeated with unexpected speed. When Wu's troops arrived at Landandeng (60 li from Zunyi), they met Wang who was leading his troops in retreat. Wang reported the defeat of his troops. Wu hurriedly advanced toward Zunyi City. At Shilipu in the southern part of Zunyi City (about 20 li from the city), Wu's troops met with the 3d Army Group of the Red Army led by Peng Dehuai. Peng Dehuai personally commanded his troops to fight the enemy at the battle line. After 1 hour of battle, Peng Dehuai stated with certainty that most soldiers of the two divisions of Wu's troops would be disarmed that afternoon. Not long after that, the

1st Army Group led by Lin Biao took a shortcut to drive into the areas behind Wu's troops.

At 1200, the two divisions of Wu's troops were completely encircled. All the useful positions around had already been seized by the Red Army, so, realizing that the situation was pretty hot for him, Wu ordered his troops to retreat. However, the Red Army soldiers were approaching, shouting orders to the enemy to lay down their arms. Most of Wu's troops laid down their weapons and surrendered. Wu led two regiments to break through the encirclement line of the Red Army in the south, and to retreat along a highway toward the Wu Jiang. It was fortunate that the floating bridge over the Wu Jiang had not yet been demolished. Therefore, Wu's troops could use it to cross the river. However, the Red Army fought very bravely. Some of its soldiers marched southward along the highway in pursuit of Wu's troops. Other soldiers made a rapid march along the mountain road at the left. Such rapid marching was a strong point of the Red Army. It traversed 100 li of mountain road while making a rapid march at night. When the Red Army soldiers reached the river bank, Wu himself had already crossed the river. But more than 1,800 of his soldiers were still crossing. Knowing that the Red Army had already arrived at the river bank, he issued an order from the southern bank of the river to cut off the ropes of the floating bridge for fear that the bridge would be seized by the Red Army, and that the Red Army would cross the river to press on toward Guiyang. The bridge was washed away by the swift current. The Red Army could not cross the river. But more than 1,800 enemy troops laid down their arms at the northern bank of the Wu Jiang. It was reported that most of the weapons and ammunition of Wu's troops at the northern side of the river were all seized by the Red Army. After the battle, Zunyi City was packed with the Red Army soldiers and captives from the Guizhou and Nanjing troops. The Red Army put these captives in a special division. Each and every captive got 3 yuan as a fee for laying down his arms. Communist Party members were specially assigned to carry out propaganda among them. I later heard that 80 percent of these captives were encouraged to join the Red Army. Those who did not want to join the Red Army got traveling expenses, and were escorted to the cordon of the Red Army. Zhu De personally summoned those captives, who were formerly middle-ranking and senior officers, and talked with them. He gave them words of comfort in every way. He stressed that the Red Army advocated a war of resistance against Japan in order to rescue the country, and hoped that all army men throughout the country would closely cooperate. Those officers, who had been captured by the Red Army, could stay in the Red Army if they liked. As for those who were unwilling to stay, they were given traveling expenses, and escorted out of the Red Army's regions. This was truly a new method adopted by the Red Army. Therefore, those captive officers generally thought after their release that they had escaped by the skin of their teeth.

The victory of the Red Army truly shocked the Nanjing troops and warlords in Sichuan, Yunnan, and Hunan. Xue Yue and Zhou Hunyuan thought that the Sichuan troops should not take the risk of making further marches, and that new arrangements were needed. Several divisions of the Hunan troops, which were formerly responsible for attacking Xiao Ke's troops, were moved to

defend the eastern bank of the Wu Jiang. According to a report of victory later issued by the Red Army, the troops of He Long and Xiao Ke completely destroyed a brigade of the Hunan troops led by Chen Quzhen, and all the enemy soldiers laid down their arms in surrender. After the victory of the battle of Zunyi, Red Army soldiers and junior officers liked to fight with the troops of Xue Yue and Zhou Hunyuan. They said that it was not interesting at all to fight with the troops of Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou because they were poorly armed. However, fighting with the Nanjing troops, they could get new weapons and sufficient supplies of ammunition. What a heroic spirit!

The reason why the Red Army could continuously defeat the troops of Wang Jialie and Wu Qiwei was that the Red Army had indomitable fighting capability, and that soldiers of the Red Army united as one. When You Guocai entered Tongzi City for the second time, the Red Army Political Department assigned a secretary in charge of the children group to work in a local work team (he was specially assigned to carry out activities among children). At that time, he was only 13. He came with the army from Jiangxi.

When You's troops seized a mountain near the Lushan Pass, he lost contact with the Red Army. This 13-year-old child was neither afraid nor disappointed. He kept on climbing the mountain day and night. Eventually, he joined the Red Army again after 2 days and 3 nights. I later heard that when the child was climbing the mountain, he could not find even a single drop of water. When he was extremely thirsty, he put his urine in a cup and drank it in order to quench his thirst. This story showed the staunch unity of the Red Army soldiers. The victory of the Red Army should also be attributed to the efforts of a great number of new soldiers recruited from Guizhou Province. Before joining the Red Army, these people detested the exorbitant taxes and levies imposed on them by the Guizhou provincial authorities. They led a hard life because of this. Other Red Army soldiers said that these people fought very bravely in the battles. These Red Army soldiers from Guizhou Province were very familiar with the local geographical conditions. They repeatedly led the Red Army soldiers to take a shortcut to outflank the troops of Wang and Wu from behind. The number of the Red Army were not drastically reduced despite repeated battles, because those who were familiar with local geographical conditions joined the Red Army. Wherever it went, it encouraged local people to join the troops. These people helped the Red Army a lot in the battles.

After the victory of the battle of Zunyi, the Red Army stationed massive forces in Yaxi (60 li away from the southwestern part of Zunyi City). It repeatedly attempted to lure the troops of Xue and Zhou and the Sichuan troops into a decisive battle. However, the troops of Xue and Zhou and the Sichuan troops led by Guo Xunqi, Liao Ze, and Pan Zuo were very cautious. They avoided launching attacks recklessly. Although the Red Army repeatedly lured them toward a decisive battle on the banks of the Chishuihe, the troops of Xue and Zhou refrained from making a further march. They just built their own fortifications more cautiously. Since the Red Army was at the end of its tether, it was compelled to make a rapid march to cross the Wu Jiang stealthily to press its way southward to threaten Guiyang. At that time,

Guiyang was truly shocked. Later, when I was in Shanghai, I learned from newspapers that the airport at Guiyang was occupied by the Red Army, and that more than 20 airplanes were destroyed, and so forth.

I guessed that after advancing southward and crossing the Wu Jiang, the Red Army intended to enter Sichuan. However, it deliberately advanced eastward and pretended to attack Wengan and Huangping. When the Nanjing troops moved eastward, and the Yunnan troops left the province to march toward Guiyang, the Red Army suddenly turned northwest in the direction of Guiyang. It passed through an area between Guiyang and Longli, and pretended to attack Guiyang. Just then, the main forces of the Red Army occupied various counties such as Dingpan,³⁵ Changzai,³⁶ Ziyun, Zhenfeng, Anlong, Xingyi, and others, and crossed the Beipan Jiang. Such operations of the Red Army were beyond the expectation of Chiang Kai-shek. When the four brigades of the Yunnan troops entered Guizhou, the Red Army took this advantage to enter Yunnan without encountering any resistance, because the Nanjing, Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan troops were far away from the Red Army. Without meeting any resistance, the Red Army disarmed a small number of Yunnan troops, occupied many cities in the province, and cut off highways linking Kunming with various localities. In such a way, the Red Army easily crossed the Jinsha Jiang.

After the Red Army had entered Yunnan, there were two interesting events which later became a standing joke of Red Army soldiers when they were talking about everyday matters:

1. When the Red Army was surrounding Qujing and pressing forward toward Malong, it intercepted the car of an adjutant of Xue Yue from Kunming. Military maps and some famous Yunnan Baiyao (precious medicine for curing bullet wounds) were found out in the car. According to the captive adjutant, he was sent by Xue Yue to enter Yunnan Province to meet Long Yun. Two days before, Xue Yue had sent a telegram to Long Yun, asking him to send military maps of Yunnan, because he did not have any. After receiving the telegram, Long Yun originally intended to dispatch the maps by plane. However, the next day, the pilot got sick. He later changed his mind and sent the maps by car. However, Qujing had already been surrounded by the Red Army and the highway was also cut off. Long Yun sent a full carload of Baiyao, Xuanwei hams from Yunnan, and some famous Puer tea. However, the car was intercepted by the Red Army 20 li away from Qujing. The guards and adjutant in the car were disarmed. The military maps, which Xue Yue never received, were used by the Red Army to cross the Jinsha Jiang. Red Army soldiers enjoyed the use of the Baiyao, hams, and tea. Whenever the Red Army soldiers talked about this, they were convulsed with laughter.

They said that during the period of the Three Kingdoms, when Liu Bei entered Sichuan, Zhang Song presented him with a map. When the Red Army entered Sichuan, Long Yun also presented it with a map.

2. When the Red Army was entering Songming City and Guandu,³⁷ it was welcomed by county magistrates and local military and police leaders. This was not because these leaders had gone over to the Red bandits. Yunnan Province

is located in the southwestern part of China. Although people in the province had heard about the activities of the Red Army in Hunan, Hubei, Jiangxi, and Sichuan, according to official reports, the Red Army were "Red bandits." In the eyes of the people in Yunnan, "bandits" were those who were shabbily dressed, lived in privation, and had no new weapons. They also robbed the common people. However, when the Red Army reached the area, people heard nothing about the army soldiers robbing the people. In the meantime, they were disciplined, carried out fair deals, and their paper money could be converted into silver dollars. They were also neatly dressed, and had many new weapons. The Yunnan troops were not armed with such new weapons. The local officials and gentry mistook these Red Army soldiers for the Nanjing troops, because they were much better than the Yunnan troops in terms of discipline, appearance, and bearing. But, if they were not Nanjing troops, who were they? Therefore, they lined up to welcome them. They also gave all the army provisions and pay, which they collected in accordance with the instruction issued by the provincial government, to the Red Army. In the meantime, they also provided these "Nanjing troops" with several hundred porters and guides. The Red Army took advantage of this mistake, and claimed to be Nanjing troops. It accepted all the army provisions and the porters, and attended a sumptuous dinner hosted by the local authorities. At the dinner, the county magistrate, section chiefs, commanders of the local civil corps, and local gentry were introduced to the Red Army one after another. These local leaders also invited officers of the "Nanjing troops" to deliver speeches. Then, the Red Army leaders stood up, and shouted: "Comrades!" The Red Army soldiers who had lain in ambush appeared suddenly to keep watch on these local leaders. A Red Army leader then announced: "We are not Nanjing troops of the KMT. We are the Central Red Army." By then, these local leaders were already scared out of their wits. However, the Red Army did not make things difficult for them. Their leader reassured the local leaders and asked them to leave.

The Red Army immediately asked the porters and guides to attend a meeting. Red Army leaders announced that they were not Nanjing troops, and that they were the Red Army. They also asked those porters whether they were employed, or were pressed into service. They answered with one voice that they were pressed into forced labor, and got no wages at all, and that their wives and children were starving to death since they had left their homes.

The Red Army leaders immediately announced: "The Yunnan warlords and bureaucrats made you suffer. Now, the Red Army has decided to send you home. However, those who are willing to work for the Red Army as porters can each get 5 jiao of silver dollars per day. The Red Army will give them half a month's wages as family allowances." Whereupon more than 90 percent of the porters expressed their willingness to be employed by the Red Army. Only 10 or so wanted to go home. The Red Army gave each of them 1 yuan for traveling expenses.

After we traveled through Yunnan, the province left a very good impression on me. Some Red Army people originally thought that since the province was located in the plateau in the western part of China, that there would be

numerous high mountains. The roads were difficult of access, the weather was extremely bad, and natural resources were miserably meager. However, after entering Yunnan, we found that there was a vast plain in the north-eastern part of the province despite its elevated land. When we entered Yunnan from Guizhou, we had to travel across elevated land. However, the topography of Yunnan was much better than that of Guizhou. It was similar to that in the southern part of Hunan. We climbed up numerous mountains when marching in Yunnan. But when we reached the summit of a mountain, there was a plain in front of us. It was unnecessary for us to climb down the mountain.

After traversing the plain, there was again a mountain in front of us. After climbing the mountain, we faced a plain again. We were gradually moving upward. Every county or township was surrounded by a plain covering an area of more than 10 to several hundred li. These plains were locally called Kunming Bazi, Dali Bazi, Qijing Bazi, and so forth. Bazi meant the flatland around a county town. Due to the fact that the roads in Yunnan were smooth and wide, mule-drawn carts could be used to advance northward. The province had a better transport service. It was easier to build highways in the province than in Guizhou, because in Guizhou tunnels had to be dug while building highways. Therefore, highways in Yunnan were developed earlier.

The fine weather in Yunnan was incomparably better than that in Guizhou. In Guizhou, "sunshine does not last more than 3 days." The temperate weather around Kunming was similar to that of Zhejiang. When we were traveling near Qujing, it was unnecessary for us to wear cotton-padded coats. However, the variations of temperature were great. At 1600 or 1700, the wind usually blew hard, and a shower fell. The weather was comparatively cold.

Yunnan had abundant resources because of its fine weather. Qujing, Malong, and the northeastern part of Yunnan abundantly produced rice and cotton. Opium, which was noted throughout the country, was planted everywhere in the province. The reason why the price for opium produced in Yunnan was higher than that produced in Guizhou and Sichuan was that seed capsules produced in Yunnan, which were as big as a fist, were bigger than those produced in Sichuan and Guizhou. However, opium was dirt-cheap in Yunnan. Half a jin of crude opium was sold at 1 silver dollar. When making a joke, I often said that if those opium addicts in Jiangsu and Zhejiang knew that the price of opium in Yunnan was so cheap, they would drool with envy.

Most residents in Yunnan were Han people. In addition, there were people from the Miao, Yi, and Hui nationalities. At that time, since the province was ruled by the Yi nationality, the Yi people live a better life in general. In certain regions, most village heads and district chiefs were Yi people. When I was passing by Guandu, I found an area covering some dozen li which was inhabited by the Hui people. Their customs and habits were the same as those of the Hui people in Zhejiang.

There were mosques in the area. A number of soldiers in the 5th Army Group of the Red Army were Hui people from Gansu. They had good relations with

the Hui people there. The Red Army highly respected the mosques of the Hui people. Red Army leader Zhu De went personally to a mosque to talk with the leaders of the Hui people. The Red Army cultivated good relations with the Hui people. When the Red Army left the area, the Hui people lined up to see it off. A score of Hui people joined the Red Army. After joining up, these people were put in a special Hui detachment in which they were able to continue with their native customs.

When I was living near Kunming, I found out very often that most residents over 30, men and women, had tumors on their necks (throats). About 70 to 80 percent of the residents had tumors. This was because the spring water they drank lacked iodine. The spring water of a certain mountain was undrinkable. Anyone who drank the water would have a sore throat. Therefore, when the Red Army soldiers were climbing the mountain, they did not drink the water there.

The weather, natural resources, and topography of Yunnan left a good impression on me. In addition, the province had a glorious history of staging the Yunnan uprising aimed at taking punitive action against Yuan,³⁸ and supporting the republican political system.

The purpose of the Red Army in entering Yunnan was to cross Jinsha Jiang. Therefore, it advanced along two routes in the direction of Yunnan. After occupying Zhanyi,³⁹ Malong, Xundian, and Songming, the main forces of the Red Army pressed forward toward Kunming. Some other Red Army units were deployed near the Yunnan-Guizhou border to attract the Guizhou and Yunnan forces. They defeated the five regiments led by You Guocai, and seized large quantities of their arms and ammunition. They pushed on, flushed with victory to occupy Xuanwei City and Dongchuan City, and pressed onward to cross the Jinsha Jiang. When the main forces of the Red Army were approaching Kunming, Kunming and the whole province were shocked. However, the aim of the Red Army was not occupation, but to attract the Yunnan troops so that they would reinforce the troops in Kunming rather than marching toward the Jinsha Jiang. The Red Army originally planned to cross the Jinsha Jiang from Jiaoxidu.⁴⁰ However, to confuse the enemy pursuit troops, some Red Army units deliberately occupied Lufeng and Wuding in the west, and then advanced further west to occupy Yuanmou. They moved northward from Yuanmou to Longjie and pretended to cross the river there. Such a stratagem of luring the tiger out of the mountain did trap the enemy. Zhou Hunyuan's troops, Yunnan troops and Hunan troops, which were responsible for chasing and suppressing the bandits, marched toward Yuanmou. However, the main forces of the Red Army crossed the Jinsha Jiang from Jiaoxidu without any obstruction. The Red Army units in Longjie, which pretended to cross the river, also took a shortcut to return to Jiaoxidu. On the bank of Jinsha Jiang, the Red Army took 9 days and nights to cross the river. However, it was only after the Red Army had crossed the river to occupy Tonganzhou⁴¹ and pressed forward toward the city gate of Huilizhou⁴² that the enemy pursuit troops knew that the Red Army had crossed the river from Jiaoxidu. When the pursuit troops turned back to Jiaoxidu, all the Red Army units had already crossed the river. They destroyed all the boats and ships around. It took the Red Army units 9 days and nights to cross the river safely.

It was on the afternoon of the 11th day that Zhou Hunyuan's pursuit troops approached the river bank. But the ships and boats had all been destroyed, and the Red Army soldiers were guarding the northern bank of the river from a cave. The enemy pursuit troops were not able to approach the river bank. Their efforts were in vain. The Red Army soldiers were very happy about the success of their stratagem. A new play called "Worn Straw Sandals"⁴³ was published in the newspaper of the Political Department of the 5th Army Group. The play described how Chiang Kai-shek sent his troops to pursue and attack the Red Army from Jiangxi to several other provinces over a period of more than 6 months. But his efforts were in vain and yielded nothing except several pairs of "worn straw sandals" thrown away by the Red Army. At that time, the Red Army was truly in exultant spirits.

Crossing the Jinsha Jiang was a most dangerous operation for the Red Army, of which it was proud. As far as I know, how the Red Army crossed the river was not accurately and sufficiently reported by newspapers in Shanghai and other cities. I personally crossed the Jinsha Jiang. This was a great event in my life, which I would never forget.

The Jinsha Jiang was located at the upper reaches of the Yangzi River which rose in Qinghai. That part of the river in Xikang and Yunnan Provinces was called the Jinsha Jiang. The other part of the river at the lower reaches stretching from Yunnan to Yibin (Xufu) in Sichuan was called the Yangzi Jiang. There were high mountains, sheer precipices and overhanging rocks along the banks of the Jinsha Jiang except in some places near several ferries. We advanced from Yunnan in the direction of the river for a distance of 60 li. After that, we all started going down. After covering another distance of 40 li, we arrived at Jiaoxidu. The distance from Jiaoxidu to the river bank was 20 li. There were all kinds of strange and fearful multi-peaked mountains along the road. In the glow of the setting sun, these mountains emitted golden rays. When we moved from Jiaoxidu to the river bank, we found that the mountain paths were steeper. We had to use sticks when climbing down the mountain, otherwise we faced the danger of falling into a gully. When we were making the 20 li march, it was already very hot (at the end of April by the solar calendar). There was neither grass nor trees on the way. The more we descended the mountain, the hotter we felt. When we reached the river bank, it was extremely hot. The Red Army soldiers drank cold water to their heart's content. There were only five or six houses on the river bank. The residents made their living by ferrying people across the river. Due to the fact that the weather was hot in spring and summer, and cold in autumn and winter, they lived in cave dwellings. This was the place from which Zhuge Liang, the Count of Wu, in the period of the Three Kingdoms "crossed the Lushuihe to enter a barren land." The "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" also described the hot weather at the river bank. It was a fact that of 2,000 soldiers led by Ma Dai, 1,500 died from drinking poisonous water.

There were six or seven boatmen's households on the northern bank of the river. There was also a customs station, which levied taxes on goods passing from Sichuan to Yunnan and back. It was reported that the price of the famous Yunnan opium increased by 200 percent at the other side of the river.

Residents regarded the area on the northern bank of the river as the boundary of Sichuan Province. They regarded the area on the southern bank of the river as the boundary of Yunnan Province. When I was crossing the river by boat, the number of people sitting on both sides of the boat was not equal. In addition, there was a passenger standing in the middle of the boat. Therefore, the boat leaned to the north. The boatman shouted: "Sir, please turn your back to Yunnan!" This meant he asked the people standing in the middle to sit at the southern side of the boat. He then turned his face to Sichuan with his back to Yunnan. In such a way, the boat would not lean to one side. At the southern bank of the river, the boats lay at anchor at the sandy beach. However, the northern bank was surrounded with steep cliffs. A tunnel about 100 meters in length was bored through the cliffs with several openings in between. When the boat arrived at the northern bank, it docked inside the tunnel in the cliffs. After that, all passengers walked eastward toward the customs station located on a hillside. When we were crossing the river, the tide was not yet at the flood level. The distance from the river to the tunnel was more than 2 zhang. There were stone steps from the river bank to the tunnel.

The Jinsha Jiang was half as wide as the Huangpu Jiang. Standing at one side of the river, one could not hear a voice shouting from the other side of the river. The river swiftly flowed from west to east with a current of 4 to 5 meters per second. At the upper reaches of the river, there were mountains. The water flowed as if falling from waterfalls. At ordinary times, the waves were as high as 1 to 2 chi. But when it was raining and the wind blew hard, the waves would suddenly rise to 3 or 5 chi. The wind blew terribly hard near the Jinsha Jiang. When I was crossing the river the wind blew in gusts. Sand blown by the wind was dancing in the air. The thatched huts built by local residents near the caves were blown away by the wind. When I was standing in the middle of a road, the wind blew in gusts, and I fell down suddenly because I was not able to keep on my feet. We were terrified of the strong wind near the river. This only lasted half an hour. After that, the rain and wind stopped, and the sun shown again. When I asked local inhabitants about the situation, they told us that the wind and rain at the river bank only lasted half an hour on each occasion. The sun would shine again after the wind and rain stopped. This showed that the weather in the western part of China changed very drastically.

The flow of the Jinsha Jiang was very rapid. It was impossible to use a boat to cross the river. At the part between Yibin to Luzhou, wooden boats could be used. At that part of the river below Kuzhou, steamboats could be used. There were more ferry boats at the lower areas of Dongchuan and Qiaojia. Above Qiaojia, there were about 10 ferry boats or so at every ferry. At every ferry above Longjie, there were only several inflatable skin boats, which were made of animal skins. Each inflatable skin boat could only carry one passenger. This was because at the upper reaches of the river, the current was extremely swift, and there were numerous hidden reefs under the water, so wooden ships could easily be broken when they struck the reefs.

When the Red Army soldiers were crossing the river, they could not build any floating bridges. They seized six boats from the Jiaoxidu ferry and other

ferries round. The bigger boats could carry 39 persons, whereas the smaller ones could only carry 11 persons. These boats were worn out, and water seeped into the boats through their hulls. After using them, some persons were specially assigned to pour the water from the boats into the river using wooden buckets. Only thus could they be used again. It was very dangerous to cross the river in such a way. Due to the fact that the current was so rapid, these boats could only be used to cross the river three to four times per hour. Most Red Army soldiers crossed the river from this location. They crossed the river day and night. At night, wood was burned on both river banks. The flames lit up the river. The Red Army soldiers crossed the river all through the night.

Our fellow countrymen could not believe that the Red Army used only six worn-out boats to cross the river, unless they saw all this with their own eyes. But the Red Army did do so. The most important reason for the success of the Red Army in crossing the river unhurriedly and calmly was that the Nanjing troops and the Yunnan troops fell into the trap of the Red Army's stratagem of making a feint to the east and attacking in the west, and luring the tiger out of the mountains, so that all Red Army units had sufficient time to cross the river. Furthermore, it was 2 days after the army had crossed the river that the enemy pursuit troops arrived. Therefore, only a limited number of Red Army soldiers dropped out. Another reason for this success was that the Red Army units were well organized when crossing the river. Just think if they had not been effectively organized, the boats they used might easily have capsized when something went wrong because they carried such a great number of passengers. If the ships had been damaged, the Red Army would have spent more time in crossing the river.

The organizational skill of the Red Army was much better than that of the Nanjing troops and troops of various provinces. A headquarters was set up which was responsible for the operation of crossing the river, to which senior cadres were assigned by the commander in chief of the Red Army and the CPC Central Committee. All units which crossed the river followed the orders issued by the headquarters. After arriving at the river bank, the Red Army units crossed the river in order of precedence. They were not allowed to vie with each other to cross the river. On their way to the river bank, soldiers studied the discipline to be observed when crossing the river, which was widely publicized. When they arrived at the river bank, they had to stop for a while, and were not allowed to approach the boats. They moved forward when the bugle sounded. When vacant boats arrived at the ferry, proper arrangements were made with regard to the number of persons to be carried, the number of persons who should proceed to the sandy beach to wait their turn, the departure order of the boats, and so on. The Red Army also numbered the boats. The loading capacity, or passenger-carrying capacity of each boat, was clearly explained and seating arrangements were also made. People were not allowed to jostle each other while boarding the boats. In each boat, besides a boatman, there was a commander responsible for the voyage. The orders issued by the commander had to be observed. The iron discipline of the Red Army was what the KMT troops lacked. When the army and division commanders of the Red Army crossed the

river, they also had to board the ships in an orderly way and follow directions from the headquarters in charge of the operation. They were not allowed to violate the discipline. Apart from being good at making arrangements for themselves, the Red Army units were also good at organizing the boatmen. This also showed the profound organizational skill of the Red Army. The first day of the operation there were only 18 boatmen. I heard that the number increased to 27 later. This was because these boatmen were influenced by the propaganda of the communist cadres sent by the headquarters, and they were sufficiently paid. It was reported that each boatman got 5 yuan of silver dollars each day whether he worked at daytime or at night. They ate six times each day and got pork. However, communist officers who were in charge of the operation only ate vegetables and green soya beans. As the saying goes: Generous rewards rouse one to heroism. I truly believe this. I heard that after the crossing, the communists destroyed all the boats. These boats were owned by Jin Tusi, a local leader of the Yi people. Realizing that these boatmen would encounter difficulty in making their living after the boats were destroyed, the Red Army gave each of them 30 yuan of silver dollars besides their wages. Therefore, most boatmen had a good impression of the Red Army, and they followed it into Sichuan.

The Red Army used the boats to transport troops, weapons, and army horses across the river. It was impossible to get these horses aboard the boats. However, the Red Army found a way to tackle this problem. Grooms were ordered to take the saddles away, and drive the horses to the river side. After that, the grooms sat at the stern holding the halters. When the boat started sailing down the river, some other people at the river side flourished whips to urge the horses on, so that they followed the boat and swam across the river. When the Red Army crossed the river, it did not lose a single soldier or horse. They were proud of this. It is truly an interesting story.

After crossing the Jinsha Jiang, we arrived on the northern bank. There was a 30-li uphill road with very steep slope stretching from there to Tongan Prefecture, just like the road linking the Jiaoxidu ferry crossing to the southern bank of the Jinsha Jiang. Along this road the land was barren and there were few trees. We came across only one family en route and saw some flocks of goats which signified that the area had become an animal husbandry zone. From Tongan Prefecture to Huili City we had to climb 30 more li uphill before arriving at a flatter road with high mountains towering to the skies on both sides. There was only one town in Tongan Prefecture. It was the largest town along the trade road between Sichuan and Yunnan, with some 300 households or more and a primary school.

On my arrival there, I saw a few hundred rural residents wearing a piece of red cloth and lining up for departure. All of them were newly recruited fighters who had just joined the Red Army at the instigation of the communists. It was reported that the communists had established in Tongan Prefecture a revolutionary committee, an army to boycott forced taxes and levies, and so on. After leaving Tongan Prefecture, we marched toward Huili town. The town seemed to be on fire as we approached. After we took up quarters, we learned that Huili town was under the control of Liu

Yuantang's division subordinate to Liu Wenhui's units of the Sichuan and Xikang Army. Being afraid that the Red Army would storm into the town by climbing the town wall, the defending Liu division burned all the houses surrounding the town so as to keep the Red Army away. However, this act enraged the residents outside the town. Thousands of these residents, encouraged by the Red Army, joined the fighters in attacking the town. It was reported that most of these people joined the Red Army later.

Since Huili was firmly defended by Liu's division, the Red Army stopped storming the town and kept watch on the movements of the enemy. The Red Army's intention was to take a rest and have its force replenished, making use of the interval before the bandit suppression units of the Nanjing army could cross the river. So, the general headquarters of the Red Army ordered the army to stop and rest at Huili for 5 days. All units were instructed to carry out an intensive propaganda drive among local residents and were required to fulfill an assignment of recruiting 5,000 new soldiers. All Red Army units including the general health section plunged into the mission. They managed to recruit 5,000 new men within 5 days as expected. The reason why the Red Army could replenish its force all the time was because, on the one hand, the Red Army was adept at carrying out propaganda work among local people and, on the other, the livelihood of the people in the provinces of Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan was just miserable. All the people in Huili had a strong grievance against Liu Yuantang, who had oppressed them by various means: Imposing different sorts of unreasonable taxes and levies on them; forcing the circulation of the copper coins cast by his private mint; press-ganging; raping young women and persecuting the family members of any woman who refused to be seduced, and so on. In doing so they certainly aroused the people's indignation. As the Red Army led poor people to "fight against Liu's family" and to "strike blows at local tyrants," thousands of local people vied with one another to join the army.

The Red Army moved north 5 days later. Starting from Huili, the army passed through Dechang, Xichang, Lugu⁴⁴ and Yuexi⁴⁵ and arrived at last on the bank of the Dadu He. The army had marched for 29 days, at a speed of 60-70 li a day. Being eager to speedily cross the Dadu He, the Red Army did not raid Xichang but passed the place by a roundabout route. The road from Huili to the bank of the Dadu He stretched along the Anning He. Some sections of the road were very wide, with flat land extending to more than 20 li away; while other sections were narrow winding footpaths. High mountains on both sides of the Anning He towered over the river, with Daliang Shan on the east and the peaks in the Yalong Jiang Basin on the west. People of the Yi nationality live in these mountains while Han people inhabit the area by the road along the Anning He. There are serious conflicts between the Yi and Han peoples, and the Yi people often come out of the mountains to raid villages where Han people live. To defend themselves against the attacks by the enemy, every house in these villages has its own watchtower.

After passing by Lugu, the Red Army was divided into two groups advancing along two routes: The smaller group moved toward the south bank of Fulin,⁴⁶ pretending to cross the river so as to draw the attention of the enemy stationed on the other side of the river; while the larger group moved

northwestward to seize the county seat of Mianning and attempt to cross the Dadu He by Anshunchang.⁴⁷ However, to approach Anshunchang from Daqiao town which was 50 li to the northwest of Mianning, one had to pass through the mountainous areas where the Yi people dwelt. The trip through the Yi areas would take 2 and 1/2 days, and this posed a major obstacle for the Red Army.

Daliang Shan to the east of the Anning He was the base of the Yi people, the most terrifying enemy of the Sichuan people. The Daliang Shan mountainous zone covers an enormous area which stretches from Ningnan County in the south to the Dadu He in the north and from Anning He in the west to Leibo, Mabian, and Pingshan on the bank of the Jinsha Jiang in the east. The area to the northwest of Mianning and to the south of Kangding was under the control of the Yi people. According to legend, the Yi people living here are the descendants of the so-called "south barbarians" who were the target of a punitive expedition by Zhuge Liang, the Wu Marquis, in ancient times. There is indeed a mute spring in the Yi area to the northwest of Mianning County, and whoever drinks the water of this spring will immediately become dumb. There is an account of this mute spring in both the Mianning County chronicles and the Ningyuan Prefectural chronicles. All Yi people were armed. The Yi people (in the mountains to the northwest of Mianning) possessed several thousand rifles and a number of portable machine guns, all seized from Han troops. The land on the banks of the Anning He originally belonged to Yi hereditary headmen. However, Liu Wenhui entered Yazhou after his defeat in Chengdu. He expelled all the Yi headmen and took over their land. Thus, Yi people were bitterly feuding with Liu's troops. In fact, the government could only keep those Han people living on the plains by the sides of the Anning He under its control. Yi people remained beyond government control and refused to pay any taxes and levies. Any government army convoy intending to pass through the mountainous areas controlled by Yi people must have a strength equivalent to a regiment or more, otherwise the convoy would be liable to be disarmed by Yi people.

Then life is different in the Yi areas from that in Mongolia and Tibet. Yi people still live in tribal style. Being suspicious and apprehensive, different Yi tribes are in long-standing feud with each other and there are frequent armed fights between them. The Yi people lead a seminomadic and semifarming life. They mostly grow maize and breed cattle, goats, and horses.

There are two classes among the Yi people: The first is the black Yi, the ruling class; and the other is the white Yi, slaves who farm all their lives for the black Yi in exchange for nothing more than food and clothing. The black Yi people hold the full power over the white Yi's lives and property. Every black Yi has tens or hundreds of white Yi's working as his servants. And he himself never has to work. The black Yi and the white Yi never intermarry with each other. Now, the number of black Yi's is decreasing but they still hold the ruling power. The so-called headmen are in fact leaders of the black Yi's. White Yi's were Han people captured by black Yi's or the descendants of those Han people captured. The black Yi's in the Daliang Shan area and in the northwest mountainous areas of Mianning

County always exchange their Han captives so that the captives are unable to flee because they do not know their way around. The black Yi's have control over the marriages among white Yi's and called white Yi's Wazi (meaning children in the Sichuan dialect). But every black Yi's family always entrusts a white Yi as the housekeeping Wazi (that is, housekeeper). The housekeeping Wazi is in charge of all financial affairs and day-to-day work. As Han people do not distinguish between the black and white Yi's but fight against all of them and, in addition, the Yi people are uneducated, white Yi's always help black Yi's to oppose Han people and join black Yi's in their battles against Han troops.

Trade between Han and Yi is conducted through interpreters. Some Yi people can speak the Han language. But since black Yi's are afraid of being killed by Han people, they never leave the mountains but authorize white Yi's to have dealings with Han people on behalf of them. Yi people sell hides, musk, and other articles to Han people in exchange for cloth and salt.

The Yi costumes are completely different from the Han. They wrap their heads with green scarves with long ends stretching behind, looking just like Indian cavalry policemen we used to see in Shanghai.⁴⁸ Some of them wear a silver ring in their noses. Both men and women wear earrings. Their earrings are made of bone instead of metal, with three to four pieces of round or ellipse-shape bone strung together. Their faces are blackened. They wear a kind of jacket, locally made, of wool which looks like the Buddhist monk's gown. (These jackets are soft and light and can keep out the cold, thus are suitable for use in marching.) The Yi people wear a belt around their waist. The weather in the mountains where Yi people live is changeable daily: it is hot at noon, there is strong wind after 1600, it begins to rain around 2000 or 2100 and becomes fine again the next morning. The weather changed in this pattern all the 7 to 8 days we were passing through the Yi-controlled mountainous areas. As the weather changes drastically every day, Yi people always bring along a jacket wherever they go so that they can keep out the cold whenever there is a strong wind or whenever it rains.

Every Yi man keeps a sharp knife all the time as a weapon to protect himself or as a tool to cut meat when eating. Yi people wrap their legs with puttees and never wear socks and shoes. Only a small number of them wear straw sandals. Born and brought up in the mountains, Yi people are good mountaineers. While the Red Army fighters marched up along the main roads in the mountains, Yi people were seen climbing up the hill along those rugged paths by the sides of the roads as swiftly as monkeys did.

The Yi people lead a much poorer life than the Han people do. Han people can farm on flat land, while Yi people can only farm on the slopes because their farmland has been nibbled away by Sichuan Army officers and local officials. Looking far from the mountain foot, one can see the Yi people's farmland on the slopes which are as steep as cliffs. But that is the only land where Yi people can farm. Since they can only farm on hillsides, Yi people's staple food is nothing other than maize. Their houses are

terribly dilapidated. Built with bamboo or wood and covered by pine bark, the walls of these houses are very wet and full of fleas.

There were more than 10 Yi tribes in the mountainous areas where the Red Army passed. After the vanguard regiment of the Red Army left Daqiao town and marched 20 li up the mountain, Yi people from three tribes closed in on the regiment in front, behind, and on the left, intending to disarm the unit. However, the Red Army fighters did a good job in publicizing the army's policy. They told the white Yi people surrounding them that the CPC advocated equality between all the nationalities in the country, opposed the Han warlords' oppression on the Yi people, and declared that the Red Army was fighting against the Liu family which the Yi people hated to the very marrow of its bones. (That is to say, fighting against Liu Wenhui's army which ruthlessly oppressed the Yi people.)

Persuaded by the Red Army leaders, the heads of the "Guji" tribe agreed to join the Red Army in fighting against the Liu troops. So, they toasted with wine mixed with chicken blood to swear to abide by their oath of alliance. Thus, the "Guji" tribe stopped attacking the Red Army but became a "guerrilla detachment" under the Red Army, serving as guides of the army in the mountainous areas and assisting in pacifying more than 10 other tribes including the "Ayue" and "Luohong." Thus, when the main force of the Red Army passed through these Yi areas later, Yi people welcomed them by the sides of the road and presented them with cattle and goats as gifts. And the Red Army gave them leather coats, old rifles, salt, and cloth in return. We finally passed safely through the Yi-controlled mountainous areas which we had been afraid of before.

Having passed through the Yi areas, the Red Army arrived at Kailuochang.⁴⁹ There were more than 20 households in this town. I have to mention an interesting thing which happened during the Red Army's stay here. Liu Wenhui's troops, stationed in Dajianlu,⁵⁰ Xikang Province, depended on Xichang Prefecture for the supply of grain, and the Liu army had set up a grain station at Kailuochang. When the vanguard units of the Red Army arrived at Kailuochang, the Liu army's grain station officials mistook them for troops from Nanjing. They received and feted the Red Army fighters cordially and supplied them with grain. The Red Army took from them more than 6,000 sacks of rice, each weighing 60 jin. The Red Army leaders distributed part of the rice among all units and the rest among local people. On arriving at Kailuochang, I saw many people, old and young, each carrying a sack of rice back home. They looked happy and told me: "It is the gentlemen of the Red Army who have given us the rice. We have no rice to eat for a long time. It is the Red Army which distributes the rice among us. The Red Army is really good!" Liu Wenhui's army squeezed grain out of the people but the Red Army redistributed the grain among the people. This fact made the Red Army more popular among local people.

The distance between Kailuochang and Anshunchang on the bank of the Dadu He is 60 li. The Political Department of the Red Army called Anshunchang "a place of revolutionary historic significance" because Anshunchang was the place where Shi Dakai, a general of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, was

defeated and captured. He was then leading his units out of Nanjing and marching into Sichuan after there was a split within the court of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and the North King Wei Changhui killed the East King Yang Xiuqing. That evening, when I treated Li Fuchun, deputy director of the Political Department, for a foot disease, it happened that Li received a man who was over 90 years old. The old man was a teacher at a local school, and had seen Shi Dakai's defeat with his own eyes. Li Fuchun entertained him as he narrated the story of Shi Dakai's troops. According to the old man, Shi Dakai's army still had 50,000-60,000 troops equipped with plenty of weapons and horses when they arrived at Anshunchang. Unfortunately, the troops were obstructed by a flood from the upper reaches and could not cross the river. With the Dadu He and a destroyed chain bridge in front, the Qing troops on their right, dangerous cliffs on their left, and Yi people outnumbering behind, Shi Dakai's troops and even Shi Dakai himself began to lose their confidence. Shi Dakai's troops were sieged there for 47 days. Finally, Shi had himself tied up and went over to the Qing camp to surrender and all his troops became prisoners. The old man said that the "long-haired rebels" were in fact not bandits. They claimed to be striving for the "expulsion of the barbarians and recovery of the state of the Han people."

Shi Dakai's troops were friendly with civilians and strict in discipline. The old man added: "The Red Army is even stricter in discipline than King Yi's (the title of Shi Dakai) army." If what the old man said was true, we can be sure that Shi Dakai had indeed failed to cross the Dadu He and was thus defeated. I learned later from Shanghai and Sichuan newspapers that Chiang Kai-shek did cite the defeat of Shi Dakai's troops as an example to support this argument that the Red Army would be wiped out on the bank of the Dadu He. However the Red Army eventually crossed the river safely. That is why the Red Army was proud of their success and considered the crossing of the Dadu He a historic military victory.

The Dadu He is in fact the upper reach of the Yangzi Jiang. It flows into the Min Jiang, which in its turn flows into the Yangzi Jiang. The Red Army arrived on the bank of the Dadu He in late May. The weather had turned warm by then and snow on the top of the mountains at the upper reach had melted, causing a torrential flood. The Dadu He is wider than the Jinsha Jiang with a swifter current and bigger waves. It took 50 minutes for a ferry to cross the river to and fro each time. It required at least eight sailors to operate such a small ferry. To cross the river, it was necessary to first drag a loaded ferry boat 50-60 meters along the south bank from a pier. Then the boat was released and moved downstream rapidly like an arrow toward the pier on the north bank. The boat had to reach the pier accurately otherwise it might crash on the reefs. Therefore, only those who were absolutely familiar with the waterway and the distribution of the reefs could act as qualified sailors. When the ferry crossed back to the south bank, a similar procedure had to be followed. Thus it took 50 minutes to go to and fro across the river.

The Red Army had only two boats at Anshunchang. A battalion of soldiers under Liu Wenhui's command was then stationed on the north bank of the river

opposite Anshunchang. They had built fortifications around to prevent the Red Army from crossing the river. But, given that the troops were stationed on the north bank, why were the boats anchored alongside the south bank instead of the north bank? As luck would have it, the commander of that battalion under Liu Wenhui's units had his parents-in-law living at Anshunchang on the south bank and he happened to stay overnight the very night in the house of his parents-in-law because he was to bring them and all the local gentry to the north bank the next morning. Since he knew that the Red Army was then 60 li away from Anshunchang, based on the intelligence he received, and did not expect the enemy to arrive until the next afternoon, he slept peacefully with his wife in the house of his parents-in-law that night. However, the Red Army made a rapid march and arrived at Anshunchang in the middle of the night. Thus, the two boats were taken and the battalion commander captured by the Red Army.

But, even though the Red Army had two boats, it was by no means easy for all the force to cross the Dadu He because a battalion of the enemy force was stationed on the north bank and the boats could hardly pull in to shore. Moreover, all the sailors had run away by then and the Red Army could not find any skilled sailors to carry them to the other side of the river. Anyway, the Red Army eventually defeated Liu's troops stationed on the north bank and succeeded in crossing the river. The Red Army was proud of its victory. In fact, as an eyewitness, I agreed that the Red Army fighters' high morale and courage as well as the CPC and CYL members' spirit of utter devotion had played an important part in bringing about the victory.

The following is a report on the crossing of the river. After capturing 2 boats, the Red Army leaders selected 17 CPC and CYL members, among whom some had been sailors in Jiangxi and Fujian before, to carry out a special mission. These 17 fighters, bringing along with them some spears, rifles, Mauser pistols, hand grenades, and machine guns, bravely rowed the boats toward the north bank despite all danger. While on the south bank of the river the Red Army fighters were firing fiercely on the other side with machine guns and mortars from their positions and deployed some superior gunners to level a heavy barrage in support of the 17 fighters crossing the river on board the boats.

As soon as the Red Army fighters' boats departed from the south bank, Liu's troops on the north bank began to fire at them. However, the Red Army fighters braved the barrage and eventually reached the north bank and immediately launched an attack on Liu's troops. Only four of them were injured in the attack and the rest of them stormed the enemy's positions. At that moment, Liu's troops began to lose morale, frightened by the courage of the Red Army fighters and oppressed by the heavy barrage of machine-gun fire and mortars from the Red Army's positions on the south bank. Those Red Army fighters who had reached the north bank quickly seized the enemy's positions and captured some of their weapons. It was said that a machine gunner of Liu's units was killed instantly by the Red Army's superior gunners on the south bank when he was climbing up to a position on the top of a hill to mount a machine gun. So, all Liu Wenhui's troops retreated to their positions on the top of the hills. The Red Army

fighters took over the fortifications left over by Liu's troops and strengthened their positions to prevent any counterattack by the enemy while sending the boats back to the south bank to carry more fellow fighters across the river. As soon as a battalion reached the north bank, the Red Army began to charge the enemy positions. Liu's units collapsed quickly because of loss of morale. So the Red Army seized the enemy positions on top of the hills and pursued and attacked the enemy. It was reported that most of Liu's troops were disarmed. After the battle, the Red Army launched a full-scale propaganda campaign to publicize the great deeds of the 17 fighters who carried out a brilliant operation in forging the Dadu He, awarding them and honoring them with the title of combat heroes. Although I was not a soldier, I had served in the army for a few years and had seen quite a few vanguard units undertaking operations of forging rivers. However, it was the first time I had seen a 17-man task force crossing such a wide and torrential river, defeating an enemy battalion, and seizing the enemy's fortifications. That is the reason the CPC always takes CPC and CYL members as model Red Army fighters. These communists who always take the lead in charging the enemy and are the last to retreat are indeed superior to the KMT and all other armies.

The Red Army began to cross the river with the two captured boats. But it would take a lot of time to ferry all the troops. Moreover, the Red Army was being threatened by the enemy who was pursuing them. Therefore, only a division of the Red Army with light packs were ferried within 2 and 1/2 days while the rest immediately marched toward Luding County to raid the Luding Bridge as their main target so that most of the Red Army's force could cross the river by that bridge. Thus the main force of the Red Army moved west along the south bank of the river toward the Luding Bridge through some areas of Xikang Province, while the division that had crossed the river moved along the north bank toward the same destination--the Luding Bridge.

However, Liu's troops were heavily deployed along the north bank. The Red Army's units marching along the north bank had their first encounter with Liu's troops 30 li to the west of Anshunchang. Liu's troops were defeated again and again by the Red Army because they were scattered and lacked telecommunications equipment. Liu's troops were composed largely of newly press-ganged men who did not want to fight and had no fighting experience. Believing the Red Army's propaganda that no captured officers or soldiers of the White Army would be slaughtered, most of them surrendered to the Red Army without making any resistance. So the Red Army fought the enemy with arms captured from the enemy.

It was reported that the division moving along the north bank had gained a lot. (When munitions consumed and those captured in a battle are equal, the Red Army fighters say they "have not lost"; when those captured exceed those consumed, they say they "have gained.") The Red Army fought fiercely with Liu's units that stubbornly defended Lengqi⁵¹ 45 km from the Luding Bridge. Thanks to the support of the Red Army units on the south bank that fired at Liu's troops from behind, the Red Army units that clashed with the enemy head-on managed to outflank Lengqi to surround the enemy. It was reported that a whole regiment under Liu's units stationed there was

completely eliminated and Lengqi was captured. In the meantime, the vanguard units of the Red Army on the south bank had already reached Luding Bridge.

The Luding Bridge is the bridge linking Sichuan with Xikang and Xizang. And the seat of the Luding County government is located at the northern end of the bridge. The section of the Dadu He at this point is relatively narrow with steep cliffs standing face to face of both sides, and the current is extraordinarily swift. The Luding Bridge is a chain bridge comprising 13 iron chains linking the 2 sides of the river. Nine chains form the surface of the bridge while the rest serve as the handrails on both sides of the bridge. Long planks are placed perpendicular to the chains on the surface and then laths are placed parallel to the chains on the top of the planks. So people and horses can walk across the bridge. I originally thought that it would be difficult to cross the river by the chain bridge. But in fact people as well as horses could cross the river by the bridge easily. The bridge is 9 zhang long and 1 zhang wide and the 13 chains were donated by 13 separate provinces.

The Red Army units on the south bank reached the Luding Bridge first because they encountered no resistance along their way. At that time, Liu's troops stationed at the north end of the Luding Bridge had strengthened their fortifications and tightened defense. They removed all the planks and laths, leaving only the 13 chains linking the 2 sides of the river. The Red Army leader Lin Biao (a regiment commander under the 1st Army) ordered the most combat-worthy company with the highest percentage of CPC and CYL members in his unit to launch the attack. He also instructed his men to collect all planks available and piled them up in a Catholic chapel on the south bank. So the fighters of the company were sent to carry out the operation. They crawled on the nine chains and charged in front while other fighters following them laid planks on the chains. The vanguard fighters were so brave that they reached the north bank very quickly. Having lost their fighting spirit, Liu's soldiers surrendered to the Red Army and were disarmed, their fortifications being seized by the Red Army. Liu's troops lit fires everywhere when withdrawing from Luding town, leaving no grain or lodgings to the Red Army. The Red Army fighters who reached the north bank put out the fires while pursuing the enemy. Meanwhile, the Red Army units, which had moved along the north bank, arrived from Lengqi.

So Liu's defeated units retreating from Luding County were besieged and disarmed. The fires in the town were eventually put out, but more than half of the houses felt very grateful to the Red Army for putting out the fires and hated Liu's army bitterly. Liu Wenhui's troops lit fires along their way at Huili, Xichang, Luding, and other counties in the hope of obstructing the Red Army. However, they had failed to obstruct the Red Army but had aroused the people's hatred instead.

The crossing by all the Red Army units of the Luding Bridge was really a great success. If the Red Army had failed to cross the bridge, the division that crossed from Anshunchang over to the north bank of the river would have had to fight in isolation and the main force of the Red Army would have had

to pass through Xikang. As Xikang was a nomad area, there were certainly difficulties in provisions and taking up quarters.

The KMT troops took Yaan as a rear base to suppress the Red Army. They had difficulties, but they could be given material assistance from the rear. However, the Red Army could hardly overcome the difficulties they were confronted with. Now that all the Red Army units had crossed over the Luding Bridge, they could once again unfold activities in Sichuan, Shaanxi, Gansu, and Qinghai Provinces.

After capturing Luding County, the Red Army had to move southeastward and pass through Hanyuan and Yingjing before reaching Yazhou. However, when the Red Army drew near Nitou sub-county,⁵² it was informed that the Sichuan Army was holding a commanding height against the arrival of the Red Army. Under such circumstances, the Red Army immediately changed its course, moving northeast toward the Tianquan He to make an assault on six brigades of Yangsen's units guarding the river. This forced the Red Army units to turn to mountain paths from broad roads. I remember that the Red Army spent a night in Hualinping sub-county,⁵³ located on the top of a 4,500-meter-high mountain. It was early June by the Chinese lunar calendar, yet it was extremely cold that night. When we started off in the morning, we found that the whole mountain was snow-capped after heavy snow fell the previous night. It was chilly, but the Red Army soldiers had left their cotton-padded coats in Yunnan earlier. In the face of bitter cold, all the soldiers still wore a happy expression and had no complaints.

When the main force of the Red Army reached Shuizitian,⁵⁴ an advance party of our soldiers had already put six brigades of Yangsen's units to flight from the Tianquan He and stormed two cities--Tianquan and Lushan. Setting out from Shuizitian, our troops passed across a high mountain without trails and steps, overgrown with thick brambles and high trees. The mountain was awfully muddy, we had to wade slowly in knee-deep mud. The whole distance was only 30 li. We set out in early morning, but our follow-up units reached the top after midnight. Since there was no trace of human inhabitation, no torches could be found. Therefore, the main force of our troops had to stand still in mud, they could not descend the mountain until day broke. Zhou Enlai, vice chairman of the Red Army Military Committee (head of the Political Department of Whampoa Military Academy during the time of KMT-CPC cooperation), also stood in mud throughout the night. When I saw him the next morning, he remained in high spirits, but was terribly muddled. At the foot of the mountain there were six or seven households--they were very surprised at seeing the Red Army, thinking that they had descended from the sky. It was learned that these people having lived at the foot of the mountain from generation to generation, were told by their ancestors that there was an access path to the top of the mountain, but no one dared to try because it had lain waste for years and wild animals appeared and disappeared unexpectedly. Therefore, upon seeing the Red Army, they immediately swarmed around them and made detailed inquiries about the mountain.

The Red Army climbed up and descended the snow-capped mountain in Hualinping and waded through muddy paths in Shuizitian, but none of them complained

from start to finish. The basic reason for this was that the morale of the Red Army soldiers was perfect at that time. They were firmly convinced that they would join forces with the units of Xu Xiangqian in the north of Sichuan and all of them had confidence that they would have many chances to render service in Sichuan, a land of plenty, and that they could move to Shaanxi and Gansu from the north of Sichuan and could wage war against Japanese troops to attain the CPC's consistent stand of resisting Japan and recovering lost territory. A song was very popular when the Red Army units were in Tianquan. The words of the song read as follows:

"1) The present central tasks are to fight Japanese troops head-on, to recover north China and the three provinces in east China and to defend the nation. 2) Sichuan is excellent and fertile and it is a fond dream of the enemy to blockade it. 3) The Red Army of workers and peasants is ironlike; the enemy will get flustered when they see the two main forces join together after crossing over the Jinsha Jiang. 4) The Red Army becomes stronger and stronger and unites as one, our great tasks will definitely be accomplished." From the words of the song, we can see the high morale of the Red Army at that time.

After seizing the Tianquan and Lushan Counties, the Red Army dispatched troops to Feixianguan, only 20 li from Yazhou. At that time the Red Army intended to effect a junction as soon as possible with the units of Xu Xiangqian in Songpan, Maoxian,⁵⁵ and Beichuan Counties in north Sichuan. For this reason, we bypassed the obstacle of the Sichuan Army and moved westward to climb across Qionglai Mountain. We joined forces with Xu's units in Lifan after capturing Baoxing and Maogong. Not long after the two forces of the Red Army were united, I was dispatched by He Cheng to west Sichuan to take charge of the public health work of an independent battalion under the West Sichuan Special Committee. Before long, the battalion was broken up by the Sichuan Army. I was lucky to meet my old schoolmate, Mr Jiang, and he helped me return to my native place safe and sound.

From what I saw and heard in the 3 years when I followed the Red Army through the westward journey of the Red Army in Sichuan, I find that the Red Army and the CPC have become faction of strength in China. This is an irrefutable fact. If the Red Army is merely a joke, is it worthwhile for the Nanjing government and the provincial authorities to amass a million troops and to consume the major part of state revenue every year? And why does Chiang Kai-shek himself bother to supervise the suppression in Jiangxi, Guizhou, Yunnan, and Sichuan? Obviously, it is because the Red Army has become a major opponent to the Nanjing Army and it is stronger than all other factions in China with the exception of the Nanjing Army. In terms of numbers, the Red Army is larger than all factions of strength in south and north China, except the Nanjing Army. In terms of quality, although I do not know the details, one thing can be seen as proof--the other strong factions such as Tang Shengzhi, Li Zongren, Bai Chengzi, Feng Yuxiang, and Yan Xishan, were all quickly defeated by the Chiang Kai-shek army in battles with the Nanjing government even though they were superior to the Red Army with regard to the areas occupied and their economic conditions. But this was not the case with the Red Army. Chiang Kai-shek "had suppressed

the CPC" for many years and very often fixed a date to wipe out the Red Army, but he failed. Particularly after Mao Zedong, Zhu De, and Xu Xiangqian joined forces, the Red Army became much more active. Furthermore, in the course of "suppressing the CPC," the Nanjing Army freely supplied a large amount of ammunition and weapons to the Red Army. Where could the Red Army obtain weapons? It could not buy from anyone and did not have modern arsenals. The only source was the KMT Army, though it consumed a lot in battles. Even if that was so, the Red Army still could confront, and equally match the Nanjing government. That is why I said that the Red Army has become a strong faction that counts as one of the largest in China.

As an onlooker, I think that the following factors are the source of strength and high combat effectiveness of the Red Army:

First is the unity of the Red Army soldiers. This is an ironclad fact. Just think. If the Red Army soldiers had not united as one in bitter fighting for many years, they would have been defeated long ago. The unity of the Red Army resulted from continued education carried out by the CPC among its soldiers. These soldiers firmly believed that to resist Japanese aggression and save the country and to liberate workers and peasants were their missions. This greatly enhanced the morale of the Red Army. Still more, the CPC members and the CYL members accounted for nearly half of the total of Red Army soldiers. These communists, who were specially educated by the CPC, played a fine leading role in the Red Army. For example, new recruits to the Red Army were generally taught and educated by the CPC and CYL members of companies. When the Red Army encountered difficulties on the march (such as shortage of provisions and camps), the CPC members certainly let nonparty soldiers eat and sleep first. In battlefields the CPC and CYL members were usually first to charge the enemy lines, but retreated after others. When they were wounded, none of them cried piteously, but shouted loudly: "Comrades! Charge forward!" "Do not care about me, fight first." The high combat effectiveness of the Red Army is due to the CPC leadership. Before going into battle, the CPC and CYL members of all the Red Army companies hold meetings to arrange successors of company commands and political instructors, if they are wounded in battles, and such arrangements are also made for junior officers. This is why the Red Army units are seldom put to flight.

The unity and morale of the Red Army soldiers are stronger than that of any other armies in China.

Second, why the Red Army cannot be defeated but is able to grow stronger day by day is only because it is supported by the masses of people. To cite the Red Area in Jiangxi as an example, after the Red Army fought there for many years, there were labor and material shortages, but it could persist in fighting for a long time. This was simply because the Red Army was strongly supported by the local people. Moreover, on the march into Sichuan, the Red Army was confronted with numerous difficulties on the way, but it won great support from the local people. It did not suffer from hunger, but was reinforced after some 10,000 local people voluntarily joined it.

Some people said that the Red Army forced local people to join. This was a lie, and as a matter of fact, it was impossible to do so. Just imagine. When the Red Army reached a place for the first time, if the local people stayed far away from it, how could it recruit them? As a matter of fact, upon reaching a place, the Red Army was warmly welcomed by the local people, with the exception of "local tyrants," who had run away long ago. They worked as guides and porters for the Red Army and many of them asked to be recruited by the army.

In my opinion, the Red Army is assisted and supported by the masses not because they are coerced to do so, but because they are impressed by the good discipline of its soldiers, who do not harass them or touch anything belonging to them. Moreover, they often confiscate property of warlords, bureaucrats, and evil gentry to distribute to the local people, who vie with one another to join the Red Army as they think that it can bring them real benefit.

Third, the Red Army can stand firm and erect in the face of numerous difficulties. Compared with the Nanjing Army, the Red Army often comes across unexpected difficulties. Then how can it overcome these difficulties? I think that it indeed has certain good leaders, who are clever and competent. For example, Mao Zedong and Zhu De, founders of the Red Army, persisted in war with the provincial armies and the Nanjing Army for many years under very difficult conditions, and it was not easy for them to build the Red Army into an army with hundreds of thousands of soldiers.

I think that Mao Zedong and Zhu De are not only talented but also rare geniuses. Without such capable people, there would be no way to achieve our great cause. Meanwhile, others like Zhou Enlai and Lin Zhanxi were also important political figures in China early during the cooperation between the KMT and the CPC. Zhou Enlai was head of the Political Department of Whampoa Military Academy and many graduates of Whampoa Military Academy now in different armies in the country are on familiar terms with Zhou. Zhou Enlai's courage and willpower to work have made a good impression on students of Whampoa.

Middle-ranking and senior officers of the Red Army such as Peng Dehuai, Liu Bocheng, Lin Biao, Xu Xiangqian, Dong Zhentang, Luo Binghui, Chen Yi, and others were formerly officers of the National Revolutionary Army when the KMT cooperated with the CPC to carry out the Northern Expedition. They are good at commanding their troops to fight, and have been leading the Red Army for many years. They have firm confidence in the way the CPC handles national affairs and political matters. Liu Bocheng, Peng Dehuai, and Luo Binghui, as well as Zhao Bosheng of the 26th Route Army were Communist Party members in the National Revolutionary Army before the Northern Expedition was conducted. Later, they "mutinied" and became members of the Red Army. They are firm and staunch Communist Party members, and have been leaders of the Red Army in fighting against the KMT troops for 7 to 8 years.

When I was in the Red Army, the way of life and good conduct of the Red Army leaders left a good impression on me. This was because of the KMT officers.

It was known to all that in other armies, even a regimental commander could live an extravagant life, not to mention the division and army commanders. However, things were completely different with the Red Army officers. In their daily life, they shared the comforts and hardships of the masses. They ate the same kind of food whether they were commanders in chief or ordinary soldiers. Red Army officers and ordinary soldiers wore the same kind of uniforms. Therefore, Zhu De was also called a "mess cook chief." Nobody knew who were army commanders or division commanders. Furthermore, Red Army leaders identified themselves with soldiers. Army commanders and division commanders often played basketball and volleyball with their soldiers. Officers and soldiers on very intimate terms with each other. They shared joys and sorrows in their daily life. This was the thing that officers in other armies lacked. It was precisely because the Red Army leaders shared weal and woe with their soldiers that the soldiers never uttered a word of complaint even when they were in extremely difficult conditions. With regard to fine character and the way the Red Army leaders handled things, other armymen in general were too inferior to bear comparison. I would like to take one or two examples in this regard. Red Army leaders such as Mao Zedong, Zhu De, and others never kept concubines. Red Army officers were forbidden to gamble or smoke opium. I never heard that the Red Army officers had been guilty of corruption, or pocketing a portion of the soldiers' pay.

There was another thing that never happened among the KMT officers and people in general. For example, Zhao Bosheng and Dong Zhentang were senior officers of the northwestern troops led by Sun Lianzhong. In Duning of Jiangxi Province, they led 16,000 or 17,000 soldiers of the 26th Route Army to cross over to the side of the Red Army. Zhao and Dong were underground Communist Party members. Once they arrived in the Red areas, they contributed their savings of the past 10 years or so--a sum of 7,000 to 8,000 yuan--to the CPC Central Committee. All this showed the firm belief of the Red Army leaders in communism and their self-sacrificing spirit. They were completely different from officers of other troops who were guilty of corruption, violating the law, and robbery.

I believe that the victory of the Red Army in many fierce battles over the past few years, and its gradual development should be attributed to its talented leaders and capable cadres. Many talented personnel in the Red Army and the Communist Party are truly unique talents in the whole country.

I reviewed past events after I left the Red Army and returned to my home village. I first served the Nanjing troops, which "suppressed the communists," and later I joined the Red Army, which was "encircled and suppressed." I personally experienced the war between the two sides, which lasted 7 or 8 years. Reviewing the results of the war over the past few years, I realize that the war has harmed the country. People sat by idly when Japan devoured our three provinces in the northeast, and we lost the entire northern region. If the Nanjing troops, the Red Army, and other troops throughout the country had aimed their guns at the foreign aggressors, it would have not been easy for Japan to invade our country. Government leaders said that to resist foreign aggression, we should, first of all,

stabilize the internal situation. Under the present situation and conditions, this policy should be expeditiously changed. Taking negative factors into consideration, we know that although the KMT government and Chiang Kai-shek have exerted vigorous efforts to "suppress the communists" for many years, the Red Army has not been annihilated. On the contrary, the Red Army units under Mao Zedong and Zhu De have joined forces with the Red Army units and by Xu Xiangqian. In the present areas occupied by the Red Army units, it is not as easy to encircle them as it was in Jiangxi. Armymen at home who are slightly clear about the present situation know that it is impossible to completely annihilate the Red Army. If we continue to fight with the Red Army for many more years, Japan will conquer our whole nation regardless of the victory or defeat of the civil war. If our fellow countrymen kill each other, and sit by idly when the formidable enemy is devouring the whole nation, it is those KMT officials who will be too ashamed to face our fellow countrymen. In the meantime, our Chinese nation will perish forever.

I think that under the present situation, if we continue to "suppress the communists," we can only harm our country rather than saving it. The government authorities should change their policy, and cooperate with the Red Army to resist foreign aggression. Men of insight cannot but admit that the Red Army is a great force in terms of its quantity and quality. When the Red Army was in extremely difficult conditions, it could fight against several million troops from Nanjing and other provinces for many years. If the Red Army is provided with sufficient material supplies now, it will further enhance its combat effectiveness. Why should we not let the Red Army, which is good at fighting, resist Japan? If all troops in our country unite as one to resist foreign aggression, it will not be difficult for us to recover the lost territory. In the meantime, there are a number of capable persons among Red Army leaders. At present, it is necessary to pool the wisdom of our talented personnel in order to resist foreign aggression. Why should we not make use of the Red Army forces and their talented personnel to serve the purpose of defeating foreign aggressors?

Some people think that the Red Army craved for civil war and turned a blind eye to foreign aggression. But I believe that this is not true. Red Army leaders such as Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, Lin Zhanjiang, Wu Teli, and others are politically conscious politicians. Before and during the Northern Expedition, they were members of the KMT Central Committee and senior officers of the National Revolutionary Army. They made great contributions to the Northern Expedition. Due to different political doctrine, they split and fought with the KMT.

Today, when our country is in imminent peril, and when the civil war is bringing us near death, and cooperation is needed to resist foreign aggression and save our country, as long as the two sides adopt a frank and sincere attitude, it is completely possible for them to work together to resist foreign aggression. In the meantime, Red Army leaders and the Communist Party have advocated that troops throughout the country unite as one to resist Japan. My friend told me that the CPC Central Committee and the government it leads have also advocated the organization of a national defense government and an anti-Japanese united army by all forces throughout

the country. I think that now is the time for the government to change its domestic and foreign policies. The only aim of the common people like me is to save China from being subjugated, and avoid becoming slaves of a foreign power. In any case, the Red Army soldiers are also Chinese. They are our compatriots. If we do nothing to deal with foreign aggression, but are engrossed in attacking our compatriots, it is undoubtedly the same as a policy of suicide. China is a country with vast territory, abundant resources, and enormous population. If people in China stop killing each other, and unite as one to fight the enemy, there is no need for us to fear the Japanese, and the Chinese nation will also be reinvigorated!

FOOTNOTES

1. This refers to the 4th military "encirclement and suppression" of the KMT troops against the central revolutionary base. Donghuang Bo means Dong Bo and Huang Bo, which are two townships in Yuhuang County of Jiangxi Province.
2. Xikang was the name of an old province. In 1950, Changdu Prefecture was established in the western parts of the Jinsha Jiang in the province. In 1955, Xikang Province was abolished, and the areas formerly governed by it were incorporated into Sichuan Province. In 1956, Changdu Prefecture was incorporated into the Xizang Autonomous Region.
3. The present Li County in Sichuan Province.
4. The present Xiaojin County in Sichuan Province.
5. The present Yaan City in Sichuan Province.
6. Zhang Huizan, 1885-1931, a native of Changsha, Hunan Province: He was once commander of the 18th Division of the KMT forces. In December 1930, his troops were wiped out by the Red Army, and Zhang was captured.
7. Zhang Wentian's "Give One's All To Defend the Soviet," published in HONGSE ZHONGHUA, No 239, 29 September 1934.
8. The Xinfeng Jiang was part of the Tao Jiang, a tributary of the Gongshui River passing through Xinfeng County in Jiangxi Province.
9. The present Dayu County in Jiangxi Province.
10. The present Daoxian County in Hunan Province.
11. The present Jiangyong County in Hunan Province.
12. Xue Yue was born in 1896, a native of Lechang County in Guangdong. He was commander in chief of the 2d Route Army of the KMT troops in charge of "suppressing the bandits." Zhou Hunyuan was a commander of the 2d column of the 2d Route Army of the KMT troops in charge of "suppressing the bandits."

13. The Xiyan mountain chain was the former name of parts of Yuecheng ridge near Ziyuan County in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Prefecture.
14. Laoshanjie is located at the junction of Ziyuan County and Xingan County in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.
15. Qianjiasi is a village of the present Jianghua township of Xingan County in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.
16. Refers to 1 foot, which is equal to 0.3048 of a meter.
17. The present Tangtong village in Liangshui township of Ziyuan County in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.
18. The other name of Lin Zuhan was Lin Boqu.
19. XXX here refers to Chiang Kai-shek. To facilitate the circulation of this article in the KMT-ruled areas, the name was not openly stated here.
20. The present Guangnan village in Pingdeng township, Longsheng Multinational Autonomous County in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.
21. The present Hekou village in Piaoli township of Longsheng Multinational Autonomous County in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.
22. The present Liuji village in Xinliu township, Jianhe County, Guizhou Province.
23. The present Taijiang County in Guizhou Province.
24. Opium.
25. The present Chaotang township in Wengan County, Guizhou Province.
26. Mite means meter, a measurement unit of the metric system.
27. A kind of light machine gun with many small holes on the barrel.
28. A township of Zunyi County, Guizhou Province.
29. Wu Peifu, 1874-1939, was a native of Penglai in Shandong Province. He was a leader of the Hebei faction of the northern warlords.
30. The present Songkan township in Tongzi County, Sichuan Province.
31. Huishui means remittance fee.
32. A township in the present Xishui County, Guizhou Province.
33. Some people said it arrived on the 6th day of the 1st month, namely, 9 February 1935.

34. Long Yun, 1887-1962, was a native of Zhaotong County. He was once chairman of the Yunnan provincial government of the KMT.
35. The present Huishui County in Guizhou Province.
36. The present Changshun County in Guizhou Province.
37. A district in Kunming City, Yunnan.
38. Yuan Shikai.
39. The present Qujing City in Yunnan.
40. Jiaoxidu was also called Jiaochedu. It is the present Jiaopingdu, which is located at the northwestern part of Luquan County.
41. The present township of Huili County in Sichuan Province.
42. The present Huili County in Sichuan Province.
43. The play was also called "Broken Straw Sandals."
44. A town in Mianning County, Sichuan Province.
45. Yuexi County in Guizhou Province.
46. A town in Hanyuan County, Sichuan Province.
47. Anshunchang is situated to the northwest of Shimian County, Sichuan Province.
48. Indian policemen employed by the police station in the British Concession in Shanghai before liberation who patrolled on horseback.
49. It is now thought that Kailuochang is today's Chaluo township in Shimian County, Sichuan Province.
50. Today's Kangding County, Sichuan Province.
51. A town in Luding County, Sichuan Province.
52. It is now called Yidong area, in Hanyuan County, Sichuan Province.
53. A village in today's Sanjiao township, Hanyuan County, Sichuan Province.
54. Today's Shuizidi village of Sanjiao township, Hanyuan County, Sichuan Province.
55. Today's Maowen Qiang Autonomous County in Sichuan Province.

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MARCH TRIUMPHANTLY ALONG THE ROAD OF INTEGRATING THEORY WITH PRACTICE--IN
COMMEMORATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONVENING OF THE ZUNYI MEETING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 pp 30-32

[Editorial]

[Text] At the beginning of the new year, we honor the 50th anniversary of the convening of the Zunyi meeting.

The Zunyi meeting was the first meeting in our history in which the CPC independently solved important problems arising in the revolution of our country. The convening of the meeting marked the victory of the principle of integrating theory with practice, the failure of dogmatism, and a critical step made by the party on the path of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practical reality in China. Therefore the meeting was a great turning point in the history of our party.

Integrating theory with practice is a basic principle of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. It is also a basic principle ensuring the victory of the Chinese revolution and construction. We have gradually mastered this principle after long-term practice by the entire party, including repeated failures and setbacks. For a considerably long period after the establishment of the CPC, many communists believed that Marxism-Leninism was correct, and that the resolutions of the Communist International and the experience of the Soviet Union were correct. They also thought that they should be regarded as our guide and examples. However, due to lack of practice and experience, they failed to give, or gave little, consideration to the reality in China, and the way to apply these correct things to the Chinese revolution.

Even when they suffered losses and setbacks, they often attributed these to other reasons. They failed to realize that proceeding from the practical reality in China, the party should closely integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and foreign experiences with the practical reality in China. In our party, it was Comrade Mao Zedong who early realized the importance of this problem, and put forward important ideas on opposing book worship, and so on. However, this issue was not realized by the entire party, and the leading core of the party in particular. Therefore, after the occurrence of the right capitulationism of Chen Duxiu, the party committed "leftist"

mistakes three times. The revolution suffered severe losses and setbacks because of this.

The "leftist" adventurism, namely dogmatism, of Wang Ming was a typical case of separating theory from practice. Wang Ming and others were dogmatists who claimed to be Marxist-Leninist theoreticians, "a hundred percent Bolsheviks," and "correct representatives of the Communist International." They wrote and spoke abundantly of Marxism-Leninism, and regarded the instructions issued by the Communist International and foreign experiences as classics. However, hardly ever did they take the practical reality in China as a basis. In military struggle in particular, they completely disregarded the specific characteristics of Chinese revolutionary war. They copied mechanically the experience of positional warfare applicable to the civil war in the Soviet Union and wars in Europe. As a result, the fifth countercampaign against "encirclement and suppression" ended in failure. The Red Army was compelled to retreat from the base areas to carry out the Long March, they still refused to proceed from reality and persisted in the strategic mistake of flightism. Half of the Red Army fighters were lost when crossing the Xiang Jiang. Such being the case, they continued to push ahead according to their original plan. In this way, the party and the Red Army were nearly caught in an impasse.

Engels said: "A large class, like a great nation, never learns better or quicker than by undergoing the consequences of its own mistakes." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 285) The reason why those dogmatists were unconscious of their mistakes after repeated setbacks and failed to understand the real source of their defeats was that they isolated themselves from the practical reality in China. However, many comrades became politically awakened after repeated failures. They cast doubt upon the previous way of doing things, and realized that they should change the leadership of the party and the Red Army. Proceeding from the reality at that time, they adopted correct strategy and tactics. Under such circumstances, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee independently convened the Zunyi meeting without asking the Communist International for instructions. At that time, it was actually impossible to ask the Communist International for instructions. The meeting corrected the mistakes of the "left" adventurist military line. Shortly after the meeting, the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the Red Army was changed. The leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong inside the party and the army was actually established. The move itself embodied the principle of proceeding from reality, and a negation and criticism of dogmatism.

The Zunyi meeting was a great turning point in the history of our party. First of all, it was a great turning point in terms of the guiding ideology of the party. The meeting smashed the fetters of the "leftist" dogmatism, and paved the way for a leap in the ideological understanding of the party during the Yanan period. After summing up experience on the basis of integrating theory with practice, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward in a distinctive way the basic principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practical reality in China. The principle was affirmed, accepted, and made use of by the whole party. This enabled the Chinese revolution to win one victory after another.

It is no exaggeration to say that integrating theory with practice was our magic weapon for winning victory.

Although integrating theory with practice is a basic principle summed up by the CPC in protracted revolutionary practice, and at the cost of bloodshed, it is by no means easy to unswervingly persist in and not to deviate from this principle. It is because objective conditions are changing constantly, and they never remain unchanged and at the same level. In the course of changes and development, new situations and new problems occur unceasingly. Due to the fact that people's understanding is restricted by various conditions, it is not easy to make an appraisal and understand thoroughly the newly arising situation and problems. Therefore, prudent and constant efforts are needed in order to integrate theory with practice, and combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the specific reality in China. The results of our work should be tested by the new practice. Over the past more than 30 years since the founding of new China, our party made brilliant achievements in persisting in the principle of integrating theory with practice, and leading the people throughout the country to accomplish the remaining task of the democratic revolution, and to carry out socialist revolution and construction. However, due to the fact that we lack full ideological preparation and scientific research for socialist society and nationwide socialist construction, starting from the late 1950's, our party and Comrade Mao Zedong committed serious mistakes in guiding ideology with regard to the issue of integrating Marxist theory with the specific reality in China's socialist construction. We adopted a subjective method which lost contact with practical reality in life. We even committed serious leftist mistakes like the "Great Cultural Revolution" which affected the overall situation for a long time. It is true that there are many reasons attributable to our setbacks occurring in the period of socialist construction. However, in the final analysis, the most important reason was that we misunderstood, or dogmatized certain arguments and concepts contained in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and that we copied indiscriminately some old methods and experiences to which we were accustomed, but which were no longer suitable for the new situation. Therefore, our theory was completely divorced from the specific reality in China which had completely changed.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is a significant and great turning point in the history of our party. Like the Zunyi meeting, it is, first of all, a great turning point in the guiding ideology of our party, because it has restored the Marxist ideological line which seeks truth from facts, proceeds in everything from reality, and integrates theory with practice. The restoration and establishment of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts have enabled many party cadres, leading cadres in particular, to realize once again the utmost importance of integrating theory with practice, and keeping subjective desires in line with the objective world. Being correct in our guiding ideology is an important prerequisite for the success and failure of our socialist construction. It is only after bringing order out of chaos ideologically and pursuing the guiding principle of using our brains, seeking truth from facts, and uniting as one to look forward, that our party was able to formulate a series of

correct guidelines and policies to solve many historical problems arising on various fronts since the founding of the People's Republic, and the new problems in practical life. An unprecedentedly favorable situation now exists in our country.

As Comrade Deng Xiaoping incisively points out in the following brief and explicit passage: "We must integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the correct realities of China, blaze a path of our own, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics--that is the basic conclusion we have reached after summing up long historical experience." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 372)

Historical experience has enabled us to profoundly realize that we are not allowed to discard the principle of integrating theory with practice even for a moment, and that as long as objective reality keeps changing, theory should be constantly combined with the new practical conditions. If our thinking fails to develop with the changes in reality, we will face the danger of separating theory from practice. Hence, there is a possibility of our socialist construction suffering from losses and setbacks again. It is precisely for this reason that, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has repeatedly stressed that we should proceed from reality, seek truth from facts, conscientiously study our national conditions, work out a guiding principle of "revitalizing the domestic economy and opening up to foreign countries" and speeding up socialist modernization which is in accord with the objective reality, facilitating the profound reform of rural economic structure, carrying out experiments on the reform of urban economic structure, reforming the political system [zhengzhi zhidu 2398 3112 0455 1653] of our party and state, our cadre system, and so on. We have achieved marked results in our national economy, and our rural economy in particular, which have attracted worldwide attention. The decision of the CPC Central Committee on reform of the economic structure adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee has drawn a new theoretical conclusion and worked out specific policies aimed at completely changing the rigid economic pattern formed during the previous years, and establishing a Chinese-style socialist economic structure which is full of vigor and vitality. This is a new development of the principle of integrating theory with practice, and a new development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The "Decision" of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee means a new breakthrough in terms of some of our former concepts and ideas about socialism. It has broken with the traditional concept which sets the planned economy against the commodity economy, and drawn the conclusion that socialist planned economy is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership. It has discarded the view which favors a bigger sized and more developed socialist nature with regard to the development of ownership of the socialist economy. It has advocated a joint development of a diversified economy and management forms with emphasis on socialist public ownership. It has discarded the concept which equates planned economy with mandatory planning, or assigns mandatory planning the most important position. It has established a planning system which implements mandatory

planning for economic activities which have a bearing on the overall situation, and pursues guidance planning and carries out market regulation for other products on the basis of conscious use of the law of value. It has broken with the traditional concept which lumps together ownership by the whole people and direct management by state organs. It has separated the ownership power of enterprises under ownership by the whole people from their management power so that socialist enterprises truly become relatively independent producers and operators of products which run their business independently and assume sole responsibility for their own profits or losses. It has discarded the old concept that the economic management functions of a socialist country can take on everything, and advocated the principles of separating government functions from enterprises. It has done away with the traditional concept which regards competition between enterprises as a peculiar phenomenon of capitalism, and encouraged competition under socialist conditions. It has broken with the traditional concept which wrongly regards distribution according to work as egalitarianism. It has allowed some people to get rich first, and advocated a path of common prosperity based on overall planning and all-round consideration, and according to this policy people are allowed to get rich early or late. This theoretical breakthrough means an integration of theory and practice on the basis of their new development. It is precisely because of this integration that we have a clearer and fuller understanding of socialism, which conforms with the actual conditions of the socialist construction in our country. Practice has and will prove that this theoretical breakthrough by the "Decision" is a matter of vital significance which marks an opening of a new stage with regard to the fulfillment of the general tasks and aims of our party.

Half a century has passed since the convening of the Zunyi meeting. History has proved that the principle of integrating theory with practice is an irrefutable truth. Our party has always persisted in Marxism-Leninism. Persistence in Marxism-Leninism means that we should persist in the universal law which it has brought to light, and the correct stand, viewpoints, and methods which it has advocated in order to deal with problems rather than quoting out of context, adopting a dogmatist attitude, copying and applying indiscriminately certain words and expressions or certain specific inferences contained in the classical works to solve all contemporary practical problems. In the past or at present, we should persist in the great ideal of communism, the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, and the Marxist scientific world outlook and methodology. However, we should also be bold in discarding an unscientific or unrealistic understanding of socialism, a rigid economic pattern which impedes the development of the socialist productive forces, and others. This precisely means the enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism!

At present, the key to doing well in the reform of economic structure lies in closely integrating theory with practice. We should neither neglect theory nor practice. Therefore, we need to read some Marxist-Leninist classical works, the works of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and the works of the leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee. We should study the party line, guiding principles, and policies as well as some economic theories and modern scientific and technical

knowledge. We should particularly learn from reality. Carrying out the four modernizations program and fulfilling the magnificent goal of quadrupling the national economy by the end of this century is the present greatest reality in our country. This is a more complicated and strenuous task than that of the past. We face many problems which we do not understand, and whose ready answers cannot be found in books. Therefore, it is even more necessary for us to throw ourselves into the practice of the four modernizations and reform. We should make more investigations and studies in order to grasp more practical conditions. Only thus can we truly proceed from reality and use the Marxist stand, viewpoints, and methods to scientifically and effectively explain and solve the various practical problems arising in the course of promoting the four modernizations program.

Reviewing historical experience and persisting in implementing the principle of closely integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with the practical reality of the modernization programs in China is our best commemoration of the anniversary of the convening of the Zunyi meeting.

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STUDY COMRADE ZHOU ENLAI'S BRILLIANT THINKING ON INTELLECTUALS--READING
'SELECTED WORKS OF ZHOU ENLAI,' VOLUME 2

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 pp 33-39

[Article by Yang Zenghe [2799 1073 0735] and Wang Yongqin [3769 3057 2953]]

[Text] Comrade Zhou Enlai was an outstanding model in our party who always showed concern for and attached importance to the work concerning intellectuals, upheld the correct principles in evaluating intellectuals, and adopted a correct attitude toward them. The brilliant ideas on the problems on intellectuals expounded in Volume 2 of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" are the product of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism and the practice of the Chinese revolution and form an important component part of our party's invaluable theoretical heritage which merits thorough study.

Revolution Needs Intellectuals and Construction Needs Intellectuals Still More

It was in consideration of the strategy of revolution and construction as a whole that Comrade Zhou Enlai attached importance to intellectuals. Whether in the period of democratic revolution or that of socialist revolution and construction, he always considered the correct solution to the problem concerning intellectuals as an important condition for the fulfillment of the party's program and general task.

Talking about the composition of revolutionary forces in the period of democratic revolution, Comrade Zhou Enlai emphasized: The urban petite bourgeoisie with the intelligentsia as its typical representative "is also a basic force." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 212) He held that the victory of revolution "relied on the people's democratic united front comprising peasants, workers, revolutionary intellectuals, and all patriotic democrats" ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 350); and the party and the people's army could never be built without the efforts of revolutionary intellectuals. As educated people, intellectuals can serve as a vital new force in our struggle against our enemies in the cultural field. Being politically sensitive, intellectuals always play the role of pioneers and a bridge in revolution. They have devoted painstaking efforts to arousing the people to struggle in unison and have made

great contributions to the Chinese people's victory. Those among them having faith in communism did play an important role in the integration of Marxism-Leninism and the labor movement in China, the birth of the CPC, and the consolidation of the party's leading body. A tendency to stress the "division between workers and intellectuals" and to discriminate against intellectuals emerged in the revolutionary ranks after the failure of the great revolution. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "It is wrong to turn the struggle against opportunism into a struggle against intellectuals." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 10) He held that the program of replenishing leading bodies with workers which was set forth under the "leftist" ideological guidance with undue emphasis on the working class status preventing many good cadres of intellectual background from serving on the Central Committee, and "this was one reason why the Central Committee was later very weak." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 186) Comrade Zhou Enlai also opposed the tendency of despising the role of intellectuals in the building of the people's army and neglecting the importance of military technique. He pointed out: "We must pay special attention to the Red Army's military technique and must never yield to peasant ideology, which is incompatible with strict training and organization." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 38) Plunging himself into and exercising leadership in the Chinese revolution for a long period, Comrade Zhou Enlai always earnestly practiced what he advocated, showing concern for and taking good care of intellectuals, trying his best to unite with and win over intellectuals, and acting as a good teacher and helpful friend of intellectuals.

The founding of the PRC marked the beginning of the new historical period of socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country. "The day when China soared over the world" which Comrade Zhou Enlai had dreamed of since his youth finally came. "Revolution needs intellectuals and construction needs intellectuals still more." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 2, p 161, hereinafter only the page number will be quoted if the quotation is from this same book.) This was Comrade Zhou Enlai's famous dictum which he always upheld. As compared with revolution, the focal point of construction is placed on the struggle with nature. We particularly need science and technology to completely get rid of poverty and backwardness in our country. In this sense, knowledge and intellectuals are more valuable and important.

Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out in his analysis of the domestic situation following the founding of the PRC that old China which we had taken over was just a shambles. With the experts then available, we were not able to build a new country on this shambles. He said: "Now, the more facts we find out, the more serious we feel the problem is." (p 26) Comrade Zhou Enlai made tremendous efforts in various ways to ease the shortage of scientific and technological personnel urgently needed for economic construction. At the first government administration meeting after the establishment of the Government Administration Council, he made an analysis of the composition of our country's cadre contingent, pointing out that the staff of our state organizations comprised three groups of personnel: First, old comrades who had long been engaging in revolutionary struggle;

second, former staff members of the KMT government; and third, cadres of intellectual origin. He hoped that these three groups would "learn from each other's strong points to offset weaknesses." He also regarded these cadres as "raw materials" and demanded that they be molded and transformed into ones with full political understanding and scientific knowledge.

Comrade Zhou Enlai considered the enhancement of the educational level of cadres and the masses as an essential task during the new historical stage. He held that economic and cultural construction could be regarded as the two wheels of a cart which complemented each other and moved ahead side by side. He attached great importance to the role of technical personnel. He said: "The training of technical personnel is the key to the construction of our country" (p 110); it is necessary to foster technical personnel by various means--apart from the training provided by various special technical schools, it is necessary to train skilled workers in plants, and require cadres to learn how to run business and to equip themselves with technical knowledge.

Meanwhile, Comrade Zhou Enlai also held that we should win over those intellectuals residing overseas but intending to return to join in the construction in the country, because they were also part of the country's cherished wealth. It was with Comrade Zhou Enlai's help that many well-known intellectuals broke through the blockade and all obstacles placed by imperialists, returned to the motherland, and became later backbone elements in China's scientific and cultural circles. Thanks to Comrade Zhou Enlai's effort, Comrade Qian Xuesen managed to return to China in 1955 as a result of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks in Geneva. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: Although the long Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks produced no positive results, Qian Xuesen's return was after all an achievement and proof of the value of the talks. This example showed that Comrade Zhou Enlai really treasured intellectuals.

As the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was completed in China by 1956, concentrating the country's resources on the development of social productive forces became a major task of the party and the state. The value and role of knowledge and intellectuals became more important henceforth. It was under such circumstances that Comrade Zhou Enlai made in January that year a "Report on the Question Concerning Intellectuals" which profoundly expounded the necessity of fully mobilizing intellectuals and giving full play to their initiative. In the first place, he told us: The purpose of socialist production is to satisfy to the maximum the evergrowing material and cultural needs of the whole society. Therefore, "the socialist period is faced with more imminent needs than any previous period of all-out improvement of production techniques, full development of sciences, and utilization of scientific knowledge." He emphasized: "Socialist construction must rely on close cooperation between physical and mental labor and the fraternal alliance of the workers, the peasants, and the intelligentsia." (pp 159, 160) In the next place, in light of the actual situation in the economic and cultural construction which was then in progress, he pointed out that "intellectuals had become an important element in the activities in various fields in our

country"; and emphasized that bringing this force into full play was "an important condition for the accomplishment of the general tasks of the transition period." (p 160) And third, based on his analysis of the struggle in the world, he pointed out that only by correctly solving the problems concerning intellectuals and speeding up socialist construction could the country "find itself in a better position of strength." (p 159) He was very distressed about the fact that some units attached no importance to the utilization and allocation of intellectuals. He said: "It is necessary to get rid of such a practice which is a waste of the country's most valuable wealth." (p 168) Comrade Zhou Enlai attached great importance to and put high trust in intellectuals just because he closely linked the effort of giving full play to the role of intellectuals with socialist construction and the ultimate realization of the lofty goal of communism as well as the destiny of the Chinese nation. Comrade Zhou Enlai's "Report on the Questions Concerning Intellectuals" strongly inspired the vast number of intellectuals, aroused their political enthusiasm, brought their initiative in work into full play, and thus unfolded a vigorous campaign of scientific research throughout the country. A large number of outstanding scientists assembled in the state scientific development planning committee under the leadership of Comrade Zhou Enlai to draw up the 1956-1967 nationwide long-term scientific development program and some specific plans in certain fields. This gave a strong impetus to scientific development in our country.

In 1963, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "We must strive for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. The key to the fulfillment of the goal of building our country into a powerful socialist country lies in the modernization of science and technology." (p 412) Based on this view, Comrade Zhou Enlai further elaborated on the role of science and technology in the process of modernization and regarding the contingent of scientific and technological personnel and the intellectual ranks as the "treasure of the nation." (p 414) These brilliant ideas of Comrade Zhou Enlai are in keeping with the universal principles of Marxism and the objective needs of the development of productive forces. Marx said: "Nature has never manufactured any machine. It produces no locomotive, railway, telegraph, or shuttle spinner. All these devices are the products of human labor,...are the materialized force of knowledge. The development of fixed capital has shown us how far general social knowledge has been turned into direct productive forces, and hence how far the conditions of the process of social life has been controlled and transformed by general intelligence." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 46, Book 2, pp 219-220) The ongoing great revolution in modern science and technology also shows that the tremendous development of social productive forces and the drastic increase in labor productivity mainly depend on the force of science and technology and that mental labor has been playing a more and more important role in productive labor. As an inevitable trend of historical development, the roles of science and technology and mental laborers are drawing more and more attention. Another reason why Comrade Zhou Enlai attached importance to science and technology and to the contingent of intellectuals was that we are lagging far behind as modern science and technology are developing at a tremendous pace. The large-scale modern economic

construction in which we are engaged needs a great number of cadres and qualified personnel and requires us to master the most advanced science and technology. Only in this way will we be able to catch up with the advanced scientific and technological level and build up a powerful national defense and a strong and advanced economic force. This was the very reason why Comrade Zhou Enlai was always concerned with the development of our country's scientific and cultural cause and the growth of our contingent of intellectuals. Even under the extremely difficult conditions during the "Great Cultural Revolution," he tried his best to counter the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques' attempt to interfere in and destroy the scientific and cultural cause and did as much as he could to protect scientific and cultural workers.

Intellectuals Are Laborers and a Component Part of the Working Class

Revolution needs to recruit intellectuals and construction needs intellectuals still more. Then, can we regard intellectuals as members of our ranks? Are they trustworthy? Are they reliable? Can they be entrusted with important positions? Our party's answer to these questions has always been definite and positive. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The people's democratic dictatorship, led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, requires that our party conscientiously unite the entire working class, the entire peasantry, and the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals; these are the leading and basic forces of the dictatorship." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, pp 1374-1375) Soon after that, Comrade Zhou Enlai definitely pointed out in his political report to the national congress of workers in literature and art: "Writers and artists engage in mental labor; in a broad sense, they too are members of the working class." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 349) He definitely regarded the vast number of workers in literature and art in the liberation zones during the period of democratic revolution and those revolutionary art and literary workers in the areas ruled by the KMT as a component part of the working class.

After the founding of new China, our party implemented the policy of uniting, educating, and transforming those intellectuals from the old society, arranging appropriate jobs for them on the one hand and, on the other, mobilizing them to take part in the land reform, the struggle to suppress counterrevolutionaries, the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the "movement against three evils," and the "movement against five evils," organizing studying tours of factories and rural areas, guiding them in studying the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism, and helping them to transform themselves. These guidelines, policies, and measures adopted by the party were proved successful. They produced obvious results, helping the vast number of intellectuals to make great progresses in both political understanding and vocational work, and brought about radical changes in their ideological understanding. At the conference on questions concerning intellectuals convened by the CPC Central Committee in 1956, Comrade Zhou Enlai announced: "The overwhelming majority of them have become state functionaries. They have been serving socialism and have become a component part of the working class." (p 162) This scientific concept of Comrade Zhou

Enlai was not only a continuation of his thinking during the previous stages but also a major development under the new historical conditions which fully showed the cautious attitude of a great Marxist who upheld the principle of proceeding from the reality in everything and seeking truth from facts. However, some comrades held a different view--they were indifferent to the problems concerning intellectuals, did not place due trust in and give support to intellectuals, and thus hampered to a considerable extent the full exploitation of the force of intellectuals. Comrade Zhou Enlai seriously pointed out: This is an expression of factionalism, a principal tendency which we must prevent and correct with respect to the problems concerning intellectuals. Those who are affected by this tendency "have underestimated the great progress made by the intellectual circles in the political field and in vocational work as well as their important role in our country's socialist cause, while ignoring their status as members of the working class." (p 166)

After 1957, in the wake of the prevailing "leftist" thinking within the party, some comrades wrongly classified intellectuals in our country as bourgeois intellectuals. At the national meetings on scientific work and playwriting held in Guangzhou in March 1962, Comrade Zhou Enlai gave reports on the problems concerning intellectuals again and made an analysis based on Marxist theory and in light of the realities.

First, Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "Intellectuals are not an independent class but a social stratum composed of mental laborers." (p 354) Generally speaking, the vast majority of the members of this stratum are subordinate to and serve their contemporary ruling class. This stratum served the exploiting classes in slave society, feudal society, and capitalist society. Only under the socialist system with the laboring people as the rulers, does the intelligentsia turn to be the servant of the people. However, even in the old society, there were always foresighted intellectuals who dared to resist the dark rule and oppression by the reactionary ruling class in their times. They spoke for the rising progressive classes and thus became revolutionary intellectuals. For example, Marx, Engels, and Lenin were intellectuals who, born to capitalist society, had betrayed their class of origin, and devoted themselves to and spoke for the rising class. Therefore, we cannot classify all intellectuals in capitalist society as bourgeois intellectuals without making specific analysis.

Second, Comrade Zhou Enlai told us that the cases of intellectuals in old society were different from country to country. The latter period of capitalism witnessed the existence of the colonialist and imperialist ruling systems. Many Asian, African, and Latin American countries became colonies or semicolonies under imperialist rule. As compared with the intelligentsia in imperialist countries, the intelligentsia in these vast areas have their own obvious special characteristics. Most of them took a nationalist stance against foreign colonialists, traitors, and running dogs kept by imperialists, thus became revolutionary and patriotic intellectuals. This is the very category which contemporary Chinese intellectuals should be put into. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: It should be aware that the vast majority

of intellectuals in old China have suffered from the rule and oppression of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism, therefore some of them have joined the revolutionary ranks, some others have sympathized with revolution, most of them took a neutral and wait-and-see attitude toward revolution at the very beginning but have later become closer and closer to revolution; only a small bunch of them are counterrevolutionary intellectuals. Only a minority of intellectuals have directly served the Qing Dynasty, the Northern Warlords, and the KMT counterrevolutionaries and have really become their tool in oppressing the people. This was the case during the period from the Opium War to the Revolution of 1911, in the old democratic revolution, and in the new democratic revolution. Therefore, "we have always counted intellectuals as members of our revolutionary alliance and the people's ranks, whether before or after liberation." (p 358)

Third, in order to expound the concept that intellectuals in socialist society are laborers and part of the working class, Comrade Zhou Enlai once again quoted from Lenin: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous nonproletarian strata of the working people (petite bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and so forth), or the majority of these strata, ...an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, pp 343-344) Comrade Zhou Enlai emphasized that Lenin, in his explanation, had included intelligentsia in the "nonproletarian strata of the working people." Comrade Zhou Enlai said: Our alliance with the intelligentsia is one with the working people. "This principle should be taken as a key to our appraisal of intellectuals." (p 359) He also reiterated an evaluation of the conditions of intellectuals made in 1956, and pointed out that most Chinese intellectuals, like the workers and the peasants, had stood the test after 1957. He said: They have worked hard, overcome difficulties in their daily lives, and subdued all grievances. This is a quality which the Chinese intellectuals can be proud of!

This fair historical analysis and appraisal of intellectuals by Comrade Zhou Enlai completely conforms with the objective realities of the growth of intellectuals in modern China.

Learn How To Exercise Better Leadership Over Intellectuals and in the Scientific and Cultural Cause

In order to correctly treat intellectuals and exercise better leadership in the scientific and cultural cause, we must first of all put intellectuals on an equal footing. All of us are familiar with a Comrade Zhou Enlai who made friends with intellectuals with the utmost sincerity, treated them as equals, educated them gradually and patiently on the right path, and impressed them with his enthusiasm and cordiality. Such an image of Comrade Zhou Enlai always remains in our memory.

After the founding of the PRC in 1949, some intellectuals who had experience from the old society still could not catch up with the developing

situation in terms of ideological understanding, others failed to change their stance and feelings according to the new circumstances. Comrade Zhou Enlai persistently tried to educate them gradually and patiently, treated them with the utmost sincerity, respected them, helped them to enhance their ideological understanding, and encouraged them to conscientiously find their own weaknesses and to strive for constant progress. At a studying meeting for teachers of institutes of higher learning in Beijing and Tianjin held in September 1951, Comrade Zhou Enlai frankly discussed with the participants their stance, attitude, and the question of who intellectuals should serve, and urged them to come over to the side of the people and the working class and serve the people better. To help these intellectuals to transform themselves and make progress, Comrade Zhou Enlai cited his own experience as an example. He told the participants that he, as an intellectual, had made constant progress and undergone continuous self-transformation in the 30 previous years since his participation in the 4 May Movement. He said that although he was then holding leading posts in the government, there were still many things for him to learn and there was much room for him to improve his understanding, he still needed to constantly study and transform himself. He hoped that all intellectuals would build up self-confidence that they would succeed in transforming themselves so long as they were determined to achieve their goal, no matter what experience they had had in the old society. Despite his status as the premier of the government, a member of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat, and a party and state leader, Comrade Zhou Enlai never showed off his position as a leader and put on airs in instructing others. His influence was simply far-reaching among intellectuals. Now that 20 to 30 years have passed, many old intellectuals still cherish his memory. They said: Premier Zhou Enlai gave us a talk in person and educated us by presenting his own experience. His sincere words and earnest wishes served as a profound lesson which touched us to the depths of our souls.

Comrade Zhou Enlai had called on Cheng Yanqiu, inspired him to transform himself, helped him to make progress, and later recommended him for party membership. His example sharply contrasted with the attitude of those high officials and noble lords in old society who looked down on actors and actresses, addressing them derogatorily as "opera boys" or "opera girls."

Comrade Zhou Enlai opposed the attitude of those who always thought they were a cut above others and posed themselves as ones who were to transform others. He pointed out: Those who pose themselves as leaders and as the advanced in charge of transforming others must in fact undergo self-transformation first. He held that everybody has shortcomings and there is no and will never be any "perfect man"; therefore, all people, including Communist Party members, must undergo self-transformation. They should help each other and learn from each other, and nobody is specially charged with the task of transforming others. Here, based on the Marxist principle that one must transform one's subjective world while transforming the objective world, Comrade Zhou Enlai expounded the necessity of everyone undergoing transformation.

To correctly treat intellectuals and improve our leadership in the scientific and cultural cause, we must also observe the laws governing spiritual production and the development of the scientific and cultural cause and act strictly according to the rules of materialist dialectics. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "Some laws governing material production also apply to spiritual production." (p 328) Meanwhile, he also stressed that spiritual production "has its own objective laws of development." (p 340) Spiritual production, as mental labor, is more complicated and harder to handle. Comrade Zhou Enlai held that spiritual production is a course of accumulation and good works arise from long experience of the realities of life and high ideological attainment. One who is always in a nervous state cannot produce good works. Therefore, Comrade Zhou Enlai disagreed with the practice of setting a high output quota for writers and forcing them to produce more works during the "Great Leap Forward" period. He held that such a practice would give rise to a large number of inferior works and result in a waste of labor, which went counter to the dialectic principle of achieving greater, faster, better, and more economical results. He held that the relationship between quantity and quality, between ideological understanding and vocational work, between physical training through labor and the maintenance of health, and so on must be handled dialectically, one-sidedness and metaphysical practices must be avoided.

Based on the special characteristics and laws of spiritual production, Comrade Zhou Enlai emphasized that intellectuals should be provided with the necessary working conditions and appropriate remuneration. As intellectuals are engaged in intensive and continuous mental labor, it is necessary to offer them an appropriate living and working environment so as to ensure that they can concentrate their attention on their work. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: Real scientists never demand too much regarding their living standards. But the problems concerning their daily lives and housing must not be ignored. For example, the housing conditions of some intellectuals are too bad. With all members of a family living in a single room, these intellectuals can hardly have a good rest and properly arrange their recreational activities. All these problems must be properly solved by departments in charge. He definitely put forth: Intellectuals should be allowed to budget their own time in the most efficient way and it is necessary to make sure that they can spend at least 5/6 of their working days on vocational work. Waste of intellectuals' precious time means a loss to the party's and the people's cause.

In order to more effectively solve the problems concerning intellectuals' livelihood and remuneration, Comrade Zhou Enlai held that it is necessary to properly adjust the salaries of intellectuals according to the principle of remuneration according to work so as to link their pay with their contributions to the state and to eliminate the egalitarian tendency in the wage system and other unreasonable phenomena. Marx said: "All labor of a higher or more complicated character than average labor is expenditure of labor power of a more costly kind, labor power whose production has cost more time and labor, and which therefore has a higher value, than unskilled or simple labor power. This power being of higher value, its consumption is labor of a higher class, labor that creates in equal times proportionally higher

values than unskilled labor does." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 223) Intellectuals' mental labor is exactly such a kind of labor of a higher and more complicated character. As this kind of labor creates a higher value, the consumption and cost involved in this labor are naturally much higher than simple labor and therefore deserves higher remuneration, which is in keeping with the fundamental interests of the state and the people.

Comrade Zhou Enlai particularly emphasized that our leading people at all levels must strengthen the study of science and culture and try their best to turn themselves from nonprofessionals into professionals, so as to exercise more efficient leadership over intellectuals and in scientific and cultural work. He pointed out: "We should get rid of such an idea that we as Communist Party members should naturally lead intellectuals in the scientific and cultural cause and are naturally immune from committing mistakes." He said: "It is just because some of our comrades have taken such an arrogant attitude that the party's work in some places has suffered losses." Therefore, "the key link lies in efficiently studying." He told us: "Do not pretend to know when you do not know but try to make it out." (p 188)

Comrade Zhou Enlai was good at conducting education among intellectuals and exercising leadership in scientific and cultural work because he was diligent and eager to learn and was himself a professional in the field. Comrade Zhou Enlai had traveled to and studied in Japan, France, and Germany and himself a learned intellectual. During the years of revolutionary war, he went through thick and thin together with the workers, the peasants, the fighters, and many intellectuals as well. He had full confidence in intellectuals' patriotic and national feelings. He held the post of premier over a long period of time after the founding of the PRC, being directly in charge of economic construction and scientific and cultural work. He often went right to the front line to solicit with an open mind the opinions of the workers, the peasants, and specialists in various fields and learned from them, thus enriched his knowledge. Just as Edgar Snow, a progressive American writer, depicted in his comment on Comrade Zhou Enlai: "Obviously he is the most exceptional figure in China. As a pure intellectual, he perfectly matches his deeds with his knowledge and confidence."

Comrade Zhou Enlai was a typical example in knowing and correctly treating intellectuals and a brilliant model in all aspects. We can draw a profound lesson and inspiration from his numerous expositions on the questions concerning intellectuals and his moving deeds. Undoubtedly this is of much help to us in steadfastly carrying out the CPC Central Committee's principles and policies on intellectuals and in more conscientiously creating in the whole society an atmosphere in which knowledge, science, and intellectuals are respected.

UNDERSTANDING SEVERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE REFORM OF THE ECONOMIC
STRUCTURE IN OUR COUNTRY

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[Article by Gu Zhuoxin [7357 0587 2450]]

[Text] I. Structural Reform of Industry

In the past, the most serious malady in the system governing the leadership in industry was that high level organs too thoroughly, too carefully, and too rigidly controlled the enterprises. Thus, the enterprises had no decisionmaking power and they lacked enthusiasm. The purpose of the reform is to add to the vitality of the enterprises by all means and, on the basis of the emancipation of our thinking and a summarization of experiences, to make administration simpler and more decentralized, separate government from enterprise functions, enable the enterprises to independently operate with support from the key cities, remove the "barriers between departments and regions at various levels," and develop horizontal ties.

If leading organs at higher levels frequently meddle with the business of the enterprises, the enterprises cannot be successful. Not long ago, the directors and managers of some enterprises successively asked to be "free from restrictions." This shows the seriousness of the problem of the restrictions imposed on the enterprises. This also shows that in order for productive forces to develop, it is necessary to smash all obstacles and that the reform of the industrial system is imminent. It is necessary to delegate business decisionmaking powers to the enterprises in order to turn them into genuine economic entities. Inside the enterprises, it is necessary to apply rigorous systems of economic responsibilities. Only in this way can the enterprises take the initiative and generate their own vitality. Will the enterprises be out of control after the expansion of their decision-making power? This worry is understandable. However, it is totally unnecessary. The state can still restrain the enterprises through plans, policies, laws and regulations. In addition, the state can also regulate the enterprises' economic activities by applying various economic levers. Furthermore, the production orientation of the large and medium-size enterprises is fixed in advance. It cannot be changed at will. Even those large enterprises which have assumed contracted responsibilities for profits and tax payments, such as the Shoudu Iron and Steel Corporation, cannot improperly spend their money after their income has increased.

By delegating power to the enterprises, we can free the enterprises as well as the state leading organs. At present, the leaders of various departments and commissions are preoccupied with trivial routine work. "In the daytime, they attend endless meetings, at night, they have innumerable documents to read." They do not have the time to study important questions. On one hand, when the central authorities and the State Council make strategic decisions, these leaders can offer no valuable plans or proposals. On the other hand, they fail to successfully coordinate production or promote technical progress in the departments and industries under their leadership. Some departments are enthusiastic about taking substantial power into their hands. In fact, they are merely interested in the administration of manpower and material and financial resources. These departments are also keen on meddling with the things that should be handled by the directors and managers of the enterprises. In this way, "they have centralized the power on minor issues but decentralized the power on major issues." If we overlook the overall situation and major issues, we will make mistakes that affect the overall situation. This may result in glaring losses. By delegating microeconomic decisionmaking power to lower levels, we can reduce the amount of routine work. In this way, the leaders can have the time to attend to important issues and concentrate on considering problems concerning the overall situation.

After making administration simpler and more decentralized and separating government from enterprise functions, the departments should become the government's functional departments, which are in charge of various industries and trades. Their chief duties are to formulate development strategies, principles, policies, and long-term plans, to maintain overall balance, to serve, to supervise, to coordinate, and to provide guidance. All this requires the departments to change their past practices and work methods. In addition, they are also required to change their methods of thinking, to adapt themselves to the changes in circumstances and the development of science and technology, and to improve their leadership over economic work.

After the enterprises are put under lower administrative levels and after they can operate independently, we should, with support from large and medium-sized cities, give full play to the role of cities in organizing the economy and develop loose or tight economic combinations which involve several regions or departments at once. In addition, we should also develop the horizontal ties between production units and consumers in order to make production and demand dovetail.

In conclusion, the ultimate purpose of the reform of the industrial system is to add to the vitality of the enterprises, which are economic cells, to remove all artificial restrictions, to make the enterprises no longer the subsidiary bodies of administrative organs, and to turn them into economic entities that operate independently.

II. Reform of the Planning System

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, with the reform of the economic structure, our planning system has been somewhat reformed. However, the planning system currently in force is still not in accord with the development of the economic situation. The major problems are that there is too much centralization, that control is too rigid, that there are far more mandatory plans than other plans, that people rely too heavily on administrative means in supervising the execution of plans, and that people are not good at using economic means.

In the past, the planning departments concentrated their efforts on laying down yearly plans. In fact, the yearly plans are merely plans for the implementation of the 5-year plans. We can totally let the key cities lay down their own yearly plans and the cities can let the enterprises lay down their own yearly plans. The enterprises can, according to the available social and economic information and various forecasts and on the basis of how well the previous yearly plan was fulfilled, independently lay down their own production and operation plans. In this way, the yearly plans will become continuous chains of "rolling plans" with a certain amount of stability and the enterprises can have their own fates in their own hands. This is actually quite feasible.

State plans should mainly be long-term and intermediate-term plans. They should be aimed at solving such major problems as the strategies for social and economic development, the problems concerning the important proportional relations and the key construction projects, and the arrangements for the technical transformation of old enterprises and old bases. They should be aimed at solving major problems, not minor problems. If we do not distinguish the most important things from the less important ones, we will make things complicated and divorce ourselves from reality. It is in this sense that successful supervision means minimal supervision.

In regard to the most formidable problem of the supply of goods and materials, it is suggested that the following measures should be adopted: 1) Regularly supply goods through the historically fixed channels on a contract basis. 2) The production departments should be responsible for the sales and supply of goods in order that production will be directly linked to marketing. 3) Integrated supplies corporations, which can do business and deliver goods at any time, should be established in some key cities. In this way, large units will be broken up into smaller units and we can resolutely put an end to the practice of ordering goods at "mass gatherings."

The reform of the planning system also requires us to be good at applying such economic levers as prices, taxation, credit, and, in particular, the law of value. In the past, people were of the erroneous opinion that state plans could only be mandatory plans. Actually, at present, our planned economy is a planned commodity economy. Both the mandatory plans and the guidance plans contain quotas. In addition, part of small commodity production, handicraft industry, and repair services can only be regulated by the

market. Whether the plans are mandatory plans or guidance plans, we should try our best to suit measures to the actual objective circumstances, to consciously comply with the law of value, and to apply the economic levers in order to guide the enterprises to fulfill the tasks prescribed by the plans.

We should be able to see that some long-standing problems have prevented us from advancing along the road of reform. One of these problems is the existence of an irrational price system. If the prices are unreasonable, they cannot correctly guide economic development and will give wrong signals to the production units. In the past, there was the vicious circle characterized by "disorder following decentralization and suffocation following centralization." One of the reasons for the existence of such a circle is that the prices were too rigid, inflexible, and inelastic. An irrational price system necessarily calls for the fulfillment of mandatory plans, which in turn calls for a high degree of centralization. This runs counter to our goals of reforming our industry and planning system and of revitalizing the economy. Thus, if we do not reform the price system, we will find it difficult to create a new situation. Now, it seems, conditions for this reform are ripe. We should, on the basis of scientific discussion, actively and properly solve this difficult problem. We should not hesitate because of its great difficulty.

III. Reform of Circulation

In order to speed up the circulation of commodities and to give impetus to the development of commodity production, it is necessary to put an end to the practices of monopolization and of state monopoly for purchase and marketing and the phenomenon of the separation of production from marketing in the domain of circulation. At present, in the domain of circulation, there are ideological obstacles to the reforms: People have for a long time overlooked the important role of commodity circulation in the process of socialist production. They are even of the opinion that commodity production and circulation are characteristic of capitalism and that to develop a commodity economy is to develop capitalism. In fact, commodity production and exchange exists in several different modes of society, however they are only fully developed in capitalist societies. In countries where socialism has triumphed, commodity and monetary relations exist and steadily develop. Originally, our country was dominated by a natural economy and its commodity economy was not well developed. It would be very unrealistic if we attempted to proceed directly from this backward state to a communist commodity economy by bypassing commodity production and circulation. It is necessary to go through a stage during which a socialist commodity economy develops tremendously. Some comrades are of the opinion that a socialist planned economy is simply monopolization plus state monopoly for purchase and marketing. In fact, the past system was adopted under very special circumstances at the conclusion of the war, when there was a shortage of commodities and when we could find no other solutions. That was appropriate at a certain point in history. Now that the situation has changed radically, the past system is no longer superior. It can only be an obstacle to economic development.

At present, circulation in our country is challenged by two impressive trends. The first trend is the tremendous development of agricultural production and the skyrocketing commodity rates of agricultural and sideline products. The other trend is the enormous growth of industrial production and, hence, the need to speedily transfer products to the domain of consumption through the intermediate link of commerce. The wholesale departments are the first ones to face this problem. The closed multiple-link three-level wholesale system, which was established according to the division of administrative regions, adversely affects the further development of commodity production and exchange. Chongqing and other localities have provided us with constructive experience in carrying out reform. By combining wholesale stations with city wholesale corporations, they have established trade centers. In addition, they have also combined wholesale business with retail business and private business with the business of agents. State-owned units, collective units, individual economic organizations, various localities, and various departments can buy and sell and compete with one another. They have gradually established open, multi-channel circulation networks with few intermediate links. Practice has proven that this method helps us link production directly to marketing and break the bounds of different regions and trades.

After the separation of government from enterprise functions, the reformed leading commercial organs should become the government functional organs which exercise overall control of the domain of circulation. Their main duties are to handle domestic macrocommercial affairs well, to strengthen the work concerning market information, market forecasts, and market studies, to formulate the specific principles, policies, laws, regulations, and the unified systems and regulations governing domestic commerce, to exercise supervision, to provide guidance, and to open up urban and rural markets in order to make the circulation of the goods produced by state-owned units, collective units, and individual units more diversified and more flexible. In conclusion, it is necessary to organize commodity circulation throughout the country well and to build a rich, lively, thriving, orderly, stable, and unified socialist market.

IV. The Plans for and Supervision of the Transformation of Old Enterprises

The problem of the plans for and the supervision of the transformation of old enterprises is a strategic problem that bears on the direction of our industrial development. The problem of how to assess the place of the transformation of old enterprises in our economic development is a problem that must be seriously handled in the course of the reform of our economic structure. For a long time, we have only had a vague understanding of the importance and urgency of the problem of the transformation of old enterprises. Our plans have been unclear and the measures adopted have been far from vigorous. In addition, we did not have the flexible and yet vigorous economic levers to give impetus to the technological transformation of enterprises.

Our country should mainly take the road of intensive expanded reproduction. The present is different from the "First 5-Year Plan" period. At present,

our country has about 400,000 industrial enterprises with fixed assets worth 600 billion yuan. We can only develop industrial production on this basis. We have limited funds for construction. If we pay too much attention to building new enterprises, we will naturally slacken our efforts to transform the old enterprises. Generally speaking, technological transformation requires little investment. However, we will get much in return. Thus, the old enterprises are worthwhile transforming. If we clearly understand this point, we should change our stand in actual work. The state plans should pay close attention to the problem of transforming old enterprises and we should change the past tendency of only paying attention to the problem of investing money in building new enterprises but not to the problem of transforming old enterprises. This time, the central authorities have decided that the "Seventh 5-Year Plan" should stress the transformation of old enterprises. This is extremely correct and it constitutes a reform of the planning system. Of course, it is also necessary to adopt vigorous measures in order to ensure the implementation of this decision.

Basically, the old enterprises should be transformed in the directions of first, technological progress and, second, scientific management. The history of the development of industry tells us that the application of new technologies can help us constantly upgrade and renew products, cut the consumption of energy, goods, and materials, and create greater and greater profits. According to some foreign scholars, by combining electronics technology with traditional industry, we can raise the utilization rates of materials and energy by 100 times. In recent years, some of our enterprises have applied new technologies, such as microcomputer technology, with encouraging results. For example, the Shoudu Iron and Steel Plant has applied electronic computers in production. In the first year since the application of electronic computers, the income of its first sintering workshop increased by about 2 to 3 million yuan. Thus, it can be seen that the application of new technologies in the transformation of old enterprises is also an important way to develop our economy. In addition, it is also one of our major strategies for meeting the challenge of the new technological revolution. At present, we are pursuing the open-door policy. This also provides favorable conditions for importing and learning the advanced technologies of foreign countries. We should take full advantage of the favorable conditions at home and abroad and arouse the enthusiasm of various parties in order to make the technological transformation of the old enterprises a success.

Effective management is a huge amount of invisible wealth. The scientific management of enterprises is the most effective and most economical way to improve economic results. Statistics about foreign countries show that: Over 90 percent of enterprise bankruptcies are the result of poor management and inadequate experience and almost all the properly managed enterprises are successful. Modern industry is a complicated system. In order to rationally organize huge amounts of manpower and material resources, to bring their potentialities into full play, to harmoniously coordinate the relations between the parts and the whole, and to make the system work with the best results, it is necessary to have scientific management. However, in our country, management as a science has not received due attention. The

rapid development of computer technology has given scientific management a bright future. We should have an adequate understanding of this new trend of development. The most crucial problem is the need to have overall planning and to train the leaders of the enterprises and to improve their managerial competence in a planned manner in order to turn more of them into fine managerial workers.

V. The Structural Reform of State Organs

With the reform of the economic structure, the state's organs also have to be reformed. The main problems with our state organs are: 1) Overstaffing and low efficiency; 2) the overlapping of tasks and confusion of responsibilities; 3) the absence of a scientific decisionmaking system; and 4) the assumption of too many responsibilities, disorder, and passivity. Thus, they are unable to handle important affairs and units at lower levels are prevented from taking effective actions. As a result of the in-depth development of the party rectification drive, conditions in the organs have improved somewhat. However, they have not improved very significantly. The reason is that many problems are not only problems of ideological and work styles. There are actually problems concerning our guiding ideology, the leadership system, and the organizational structure. If we seek to preserve the status quo, the progress of the "four modernizations" will be adversely affected.

By quickening the pace of the urban economic reforms, we can bring the problem of the urgency of the structural reform of state organs more into focus. We should, on the basis of the investigations conducted in the previous 7 years, immediately proceed to consider the problems concerning the organizational setup of the departments under the State Council and the division of responsibilities between them in order to enable the state organs to effectively exercise leadership. In addition, we should also devote greater efforts to legislative work concerning the administrative organs.

In the past, whenever we mentioned the word streamlining, we implied the reduction of the numbers of organs and staff members. However, this method cannot help us get at the root of the problem. It only provides a temporary solution. The application of such a method can only make the numbers of organs and staff members greater, not smaller. Only after we have rationally defined the responsibilities and duties of the state organs and changed the leadership characteristics of the handicraft industry can the organs be consolidated. Only on the basis of the need to streamline the administrative structure and can the problem be thoroughly solved. Thus, the central question in the structural reform of state organs is to define their power and how they should exercise their power.

What are the responsibilities and duties of the state organs? Should they take care of specific things or those things that bear on the overall situation? Should their power be more general or more specific? A central leading article has pointed out that economic departments at higher levels should pay more attention to overall planning, providing guidance in the

areas of ideology and policy formulation, the application and popularization of science and technology, the dissemination of economic information, conducting investigations and studies, supervision, inspection, and the popularization of the ways of the advanced models. Furthermore, the "Decision" made by the central authorities has laid down specific and unambiguous stipulations concerning the future tasks for various government departments. If various departments and commissions can concentrate on these tasks and free themselves from such specific work as the management of manpower, financial and material resources, production, supply, and marketing, they will be able to put an end to bureaucracy and improve leadership. In addition, it is necessary to rationally define the responsibilities of various departments and commissions in order to avoid overlapping. Inside the organs, it is necessary to apply responsibility systems which combine responsibilities with power and benefits in order to make workers at various levels do what they are supposed to do and be responsible for what they are supposed to be responsible for and to put an end to the practice of shifting responsibility onto others and wrangling. In this way, we can accurately assess the performance of the cadres and be strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishments.

The question of how leading organs can make correct decisions is an extremely important question. In the past, decisions were generally made on the basis of experience. This method was adopted because science and technology were then not quite well developed and it was quite impossible to establish a scientific decisionmaking system. On the other hand, since there were fewer things to be attended to and the circumstances were less complicated, decisionmaking based on experience could in fact solve some problems. However, as a result of the rapid development of science, technology, and economic construction, social life has been increasingly enriched, the amount of information to be processed by the leading organs has rapidly increased, and decisionmaking based on experience has failed to keep pace with the development of the situation. In such an "era of information," in order to direct and supervise modernization, it is necessary to devote greater efforts to building research organs, information organs, consultative organs, supervisory organs, and feedback organs and to establish a scientific downward decisionmaking system which is equipped with the results of modern scientific research and which governs the overall situation of state construction. The state organs should occupy the key positions within this system. Only by doing this can we avoid making mistakes in making overall decisions.

Regarding work methods, we should advocate the practice of devising strategies from a distance and have the overall situation under our control. The purpose of conducting in-depth investigations and of discovering models is to guide the work that bears on the overall situation. It is spiritually good to "personally take care of every single thing." However, we should not attend to everything without distinguishing the more important ones from the less important ones. Modern economic leadership attaches greater importance to the ability to devise strategies from a distance. It is necessary to study problems from a long-term and comprehensive point of view, to scientifically and accurately understand the situation, and to

rely on systematic information and consultation and comprehensive and accurate statistical work.

The reform of the economic structure has effects on many areas and it will produce far-reaching consequences. Both the economic basis and the superstructure will be affected in varying degrees. The reforms in various areas are related to one another and they condition one another. It is necessary to proceed cautiously and in a step-by-step manner. We must not do things hastily and carelessly. It is necessary to make the reforms a success. In addition, it is also necessary to handle well the relations between the specific reforms and the overall reform in order to make the reform of the economic structure develop healthily and smoothly with few complications. We live in a great age. The situation at home and abroad is becoming increasingly excellent. We must unswervingly implement the line, principles, and policies adopted by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and earnestly implement the important decisions made by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. We should, by carrying out reform, smash all the obstacles to the development of productive forces, revitalize China's economy, and build our country into a modernized socialist power with Chinese characteristics.

CSO: 4004/16

WHAT WE NEED IS ACTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 p 45

[Article by Zhang Jie [1728 0679]]

[Text] Certain comrades believe that writers are persons who are not concerned with society or politics. In reality, this is a misunderstanding. Naturally, in our midst there are definitely a small number of comrades who for the time being do not have a complete knowledge of, or do not care to be concerned with, the close relationship between society and politics on the one hand and literary creations on the other. However, I believe that following their actual practice in creative writing, they certainly will increasingly understand, and be concerned with, this question.

Regardless of whether we approach the question from the objective needs of the profession or from the sense of responsibility and sense of mission of a writer, an austere and stern writer can enable his productions to depict the people's character and vitality only through being intimately concerned with politics and with society. This is true not only of proletarian writers but also in the case of scholars in the feudal period and writers among the capitalist class; they must follow historical development and produce reflections of realism concerning the social life of their times before they can make their productions surpass the limits of time and space and become the common wealth of mankind's spiritual civilization. For example, we may cite Wen Tianxiang's [2429 1131 4382] work "Crossing the Lingding Yang," Cao Xueqin's [2580 7185 5367] "Dream of the Red Chamber," Pushkin's "To (Chetyov)" [qia da ye fu 1874 6671 5102 1133], Yu Guo's [7183 2654] "93 Years," (De Lacey's) [de lai sai 1795 5490 1049] "Three Stages of Desire," and so on and so forth. Commentator (Benlinskiy) [bie lin si ki 0446 2651 2448 1015] of Russian revolutionary democratism has well said: Art "is subordinate to the process of historical development." "Regardless of how flourishing the creative power is, if it confines itself to 'little birds' songs,' creates its own world which has nothing in common with the realities of contemporary history and the realm of ideology, if it believes that it is not worthwhile to display its talents on earth, that its domain is in the clouds, and that the pains and hopes of earthly people should not disturb its mystical prophesies and poetic meditations, then such creative power may shine for only a time, but, no matter how enormous it is, its creations can never penetrate life and cannot elicit warm stimulation and

sympathy from the minds of the present generation or posterity." Artists should have the full creative liberty of what to write and what not to write. There is hardly any doubt that writing on big topics or small, writing on ancient times or on current realities, all can turn out productions which will be handed down from generation to generation. But there is also no doubt that a literary creation of a certain historical period must have its main historical trend and main direction.

The decision of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee was a big event in the political and economic life of our country. It will ultimately enable our nation and people to discard the heavy historical burden on their wings and fly high into the sky. How can it be possible that authors are not stimulated and attracted by this gigantic historical transition and eulogize it?

We anxiously awaited the announcement of this "Decision," because, insofar as authors are concerned, it is still the theoretical treasure cave of knowledge and reflection of this historical era. We savor the meaning of each and every word of the "Decision" as a baby does its milk, accompanied by an urgent feeling aroused by the "Decision," wishing to be speedily absorbed into the enormous stream of the reform. We earnestly wish to come into contact with this brand-new life.

In studying and implementing the "Decision," the key lies in action. We cannot adopt an attitude of formalism. For example, it will not help in promoting the forward progress of the reform if people confine themselves to the sofa, or to the office, "sitting there and preaching doctrines," oblivious of the noise of the footsteps of the historical giant passing by outside the window, looking at but not seeing the tremendous changes going on outside, and indulging in highly emotional outbursts of "polite talk" (this "polite talk" after several decades of being hardened by political campaigns, is like old wine in a new bottle, and can only make people vividly remember a certain period in history).

What we need is action! Concretely speaking, so far as a writer is concerned, it is necessary to throw oneself into the midst of red hot life and struggle, use one's pen and ink as well as one's works to earnestly contribute to the reform.

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ASSESSING WHAT IS HEARD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 p 46

[Article by Yun Tian [0061 1131]]

[Text] "The Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr Lu" has a chapter entitled "Assessing What Is Heard," and the more one reads it, the more interesting it becomes.

"Assessing What Is Heard" means that what one hears must not be believed too readily, but should be investigated, examined, distinguished and verified. If this is not done, it is quite possible that as people talk and talk, errors will be spread and people will fall prey to rumors and gossip.... It can be said that "Assessing What Is Heard" is the summation of the accumulated experience and lessons of the ancients in this respect. Within it, there are many precedents and maxims which can provide object lessons to people even today!

"When a person is told something, he must assess it. Otherwise errors may be passed on and white will become black, while black becomes white." This means that when a listener does not assess what he hears but just passes it on, black and white are quite often reversed. If a listener does not assess what he hears and just passes it on, then because, for him, "a dog is like an ape, an ape is like a female monkey, and a female monkey is like a person," he will finally find it difficult to differentiate dogs from people. On this basis, the author laments, "This is why foolish people make great mistakes." "If one listens but does not examine what is heard it is worse than not listening." Really, is there any benefit in "listening but not examining what is said"? Not only is there no benefit, but it leads to ourselves and others being confused and can even lead to "great mistakes."

However, it is a great pity that in our lives there are many such people who "listen but do not examine what is said." Not only are there those who believe rumors, but also those who pass these rumors on. Sometimes, without knowing where a rumor originated, people treat it very seriously and spread it around. Thus it spreads like wildfire from mouth to mouth. Other people speak or act on the basis of hearsay, draw far-fetched conclusions, and greatly exaggerate things. They add some color with their own thoughts,

feelings, and preferences, with the result that the original story "becomes different as it moves along, becomes misleading as it takes turns, loses accuracy as it gets further from the source and moves away from the original meaning as it circulates." Many rumors concern people, events, viewpoints and estimates, and often they are, to a certain degree, related to stability and unity. This sort of irresponsible chatter leaves a legacy of great trouble.

Since rumors often produce abuses, should we not just ignore them? In general, in regard to words of "heresy," unless absolutely necessary, it is better not to eagerly ask about them, because they cannot provide any essential information for people's ordinary work or lives. However, if one happens to hear such words, there is no harm in "listening to what someone has to say," but these words should certainly not be passed on "for what they are worth." In a situation like this, the correct attitude is to treat the words with care. It should be noticed that the above abuses lie not in the "listening" but in "not examining what is said." If one is able to listen to and examine what is said, then that is different. The chapter "Assessing What Is Heard" says that "If one listens to and also examines what is heard, this is truly fortunate." How are we able to do this? According to the principles of the materialist theory of knowledge, sight and hearing are the avenues and source of knowledge. But this certainly does not mean we can gain real knowledge by relying solely on what these senses perceive. That which is seen may have a deceiving appearance and that which is heard may be a falsehood. The crux lies in whether we can carry out a transformation where we "get rid of the dross and find the essence, get rid of the false but retain the true, arrive at one thing from another, and arrive at the essential from the external." It can be said that this is the condition for getting rid of the abuses and achieving a "fortunate" situation in terms of what is heard. In the words of "Assessing What Is Heard," "All those who earnestly discuss what they hear, will also test what they hear with reasoning," and "If we listen to what is going on in regard to things and people, then we can succeed." If we are really able to do this, then we will be able to greatly increase our knowledge and if we continue on in this way, it will be beneficial to forming a scientific attitude in regard to people and things. In this way, we can improve our incisiveness and our ability to discern the basic nature of things. Otherwise, if we choose not to expend this amount of time, blindly and without thinking allow "street talk" to control and dominate us, and then talk irresponsibly, this will land us in a position of being blind mouthpieces and we will long be unable to become "free persons." Of course, this is extending the meaning of "Assessing What Is Heard." However, this chapter provides people with positive examples similar to revelations. Here I have only presented one of them.

In the Spring and Autumn Period, Duke Ai of Lu heard that in the period of the Emperor Shun an official named Kui, who was responsible for music, only had one foot. However, he did not believe this and asked of Confucius: "Do you believe that the music official Kui only had one foot?" Confucius took Shun's words "With officials like Kui, one is sufficient" and explained "With an official like Kui, one official was sufficient. It was

not that he only had one foot." Thus the erroneous idea that Kui had one foot was cleared up. Here it is not intended to give a general appraisal of Duke Ai of Lu, but this situation where he was able to listen and examine is praiseworthy. It is hoped that everybody will come to deeply understand this principle and will no longer rashly put their trust in groundless talk. It is hoped that they will, on the basis above, draw conclusions, make assessments and act accordingly. If we raise our requirements a little, the best thing would be for people to play a containing and clearing role in regard to rumors. If people all acted in this way, then there would be no interference in the process of handling people and handling affairs, and there would be fewer losses. In addition, this would provide another "combined strength" for the development of the party's and the people's undertakings.

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IN ORDER TO ENHANCE BENEFICIAL RESULTS FOR ENTERPRISES, IT IS IMPERATIVE TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS FOR SOCIETY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 pp 47-48

[Article by Zhao Jiying [6392 1823 5391], assistant manager of the Chongqing Watch and Eyeglass Company]

[Text] Our Chongqing Watch and Eyeglass Company was originally a small retail store. After hard and creative work by the whole staff over the past several years, its business has been relatively developed and in 1981 higher-level authorities sanctioned its becoming a company. In 1981, our annual sales volume totaled only 4.07 million yuan and the profits realized 336,000 yuan. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have firmly insisted on taking the socialist road and boldly engaging in reforms, as a result of which the economic results of the enterprise have been rather greatly improved. In 1983, the sales volume was 29.59 million yuan; the realized profits, 1.506 million yuan; the turnover of funds, 10.09 times; and the level of expenses, 1.03 percent. From January to October 1984, the gross sales volume was 31.72 million yuan and the realized profits, 1.88 million yuan (including losses due to price reductions from adhering to state policies). The per-capita sales volume of the staff was 183,400 yuan and the per-capita profit created exceeded 10,000 yuan.

In the course of actual practice, we have come to realize that to enhance the economic results of a commercial enterprise, an important factor is to attach importance to the beneficial results for society. Socialist commerce is only a link in the whole economic chain of socialist reproduction. In this chain, the various links such as production, exchange, distribution, and consumption keep each other in check and promote each other. If the links of production and consumption run into trouble, the circulation link will invariably be affected. Contrarily, if the circulation link runs into trouble, the production and consumption links will likewise be endangered. A commercial enterprise, to enhance its own beneficial results, should never raise commodity prices, engage in gambling or speculation, or resort to measures detrimental to the interests of the consumers and thus temporarily reap excessive profits. To do so would disrupt the stability and normal order of the whole economy, not only going against the purpose of operations and the object of the reform of socialist enterprises, but also,

invariably resulting in blocking circulation and making the enterprise lose its reputation and close its doors.

How does a commercial enterprise give consideration to beneficial results for society? Our understanding is as follows:

1. Strengthening industrial and commercial combines and insisting on rendering services to industrial production. A factory is the producer of commodities. If the beneficial results of industrial production are not high, the turnover of funds does not go smoothly, and marketable products cannot be turned out, commerce can hardly achieve prosperity. Hence, in order to enliven commerce, first of all, it is necessary to support industry. In this connection, first, it is necessary to strengthen the feedback of information and report on time to the industrial departments on changes in market demand. We call meetings every month to analyze market conditions and to study the information collected. We also print information pamphlets. As soon as new conditions emerge, they are reported to the factories at once. For example, for a time the design of the surface panel of the Hill City brand wristwatches had a circular spot to display the minutes and seconds but not the minutes and quarter hours and this was not in conformity with the consumption habits in the countryside. We reflected the views of the countryside to the factories which forthwith changed the design, much to the welcome of the peasants. In 1982, the southwestern region enjoyed a bountiful harvest, the standard of living in the countryside was greatly elevated, and there were indications of an increase in market demand for men's watches. We immediately relayed this news to the factories, imploring them to produce more men's watches to meet the demand. Meanwhile, following the development of the rural economy, our female comrades also wished to buy watches. In February 1984, we communicated in time to the Guangzhou Wristwatch Factory that Sichuan sorely needed low-price women's watches at under 35 yuan each. In less than 3 months' time, the factory had trial-produced a consignment of low-priced medium-grade small ladies' watches which were sold out as soon as they were put on sale. Second, it is necessary to help the factories to push the sale of their products. Some factories had difficulties in finding a market for their new products while in some factories there was stockpiling of old products. Both of these phenomena seriously affected the turnover of the factories' funds. When meeting with conditions of this kind, we would take over the watches, jointly study ways and means to find a market for them, extensively propagate and introduce the quality and special features of the products, resort to various sales promotional measures, smooth out the marketing channels, and thus manage to sell the watches. Under special conditions, we would even pay for the goods in advance, and resort to such other methods as having a full consignment of poorly assembled watches reassembled or partially rebuilt, thus helping the factory. At the same time, we would actively offer advice to the factories, serving as their chief-of-staff and helping them to improve their craftsmanship and the quality of their products. On the other hand, in the event of difficulties on our part, the industrial department would help us to overcome difficulties. In May 1984, wristwatches dropped sharply in price in the whole country. Of its own accord, the industrial department bore 80 percent of our losses. At present, we have established

business relationships with nearly 50 factories which manufacture clocks and watches in the country. This reciprocal support has enabled the watch-making industry to develop and grow, while, for our part the volume of purchases and sales has increased continuously.

2. Yielding profits and striving to provide all kinds of facilities to marketing units on one's own initiative. In 1981, we started the wholesale business and followed up with establishing sales relations with certain retail units. The operating conditions of these units not only concerned their own beneficial results but also directly affected the development of our wholesale business. Hence, to enhance our own beneficial results, it was necessary to vigorously support the work of these marketing units and provide them with all kinds of facilities. In this connection, first, we offered to yield the profits on our own initiative. In actual transactions, we gave a 10 percent discount to the marketing units on the sale of watches originally manufactured under the plan and retained a differential of only 2 percent for ourselves, while on varieties manufactured outside the plan, we gave the marketing agents a discount of 12 percent, retaining 8 percent for ourselves. Under the conditions of receiving profit-yielding and preferential treatment from the factories, we gave the whole of the benefits from the industry to the marketing units, helping their development. Second, we upheld the principle of free selective purchases, with no strings attached, and allowing the client to "pick from the menu to his heart's content." Regardless of how high the demand for an article on the market, so long as we had it in stock we would gladly offer it to the client without a thought of retaining it for ourselves. The procedure for a transaction was a simple one. Good services were rendered. We gladly and warmly extended welcome to the marketing units regardless of their location, their composition, or the size of their orders so long as they had a license to do business. We were completely able to complete a whole transaction in half an hour starting from negotiations to delivery of the goods. We also undertook to hold the commodities in custody for the clients and purchase travel tickets on their behalf. The agents could order their goods either by letter or by telegram; we would dispatch small consignments by post while our delivery section would deliver larger consignments by hand right to the door of the client. As for those marketing units interested only in handling marketable goods we further accommodated them by sending along certain goods known to be urgently needed in the market. In the case of those marketing units which, because of the style of the goods not being suited to the customs of the consumers in their localities, had a large stockpile of goods, we offered to exchange the goods for them free of charge so that everybody would have in stock goods that were marketable. To relieve the worries of the marketing units about the disposal of their goods, we undertook that all unsaleable goods handled by us in wholesale could be exchanged for other kinds of goods for sale. Defective commodities may be returned to us for repairs. If the quantity of the defective goods was large, we would send our repairmen to the client's premises to do the repairs. As for units able to do the repairs themselves, we would supply the parts for repairs without charge. We also set up training classes on repairs, rotating to various places and training repair personnel for the marketing units. Each class had a duration of half a year and in all some 100 persons have been

trained up for the purpose. In the first half of 1984, wristwatches dropped in price. In order to reduce the losses suffered by our marketing agents, we undertook to give the agents compensation in the form of our accepting the new prices on those watches not yet sold during the period from the consummation of the wholesale transaction to the drop in price. As a result of our being considerate to the marketing units and striving to help them to improve their beneficial results, the number of our marketing agents has increased from some 50 at the end of 1981 to nearly 700 scattered throughout 14 provinces and municipalities at present. In turn, this has greatly extended our business and improved the economic results of the enterprise.

3. Performing a good job in after-sale services and protecting the interests of the consumers. Consumption is the final round of the process of social reproduction. In the last analysis, the value of a commodity can be realized only through its purchase by a consumer. To heighten the beneficial results of an enterprise, it is necessary to perform well the job of rendering after-sale services and protecting the interests of the consumers. We have set up a system of repair services. Our repair personnel constantly, and on rotation, visit the factories and the countryside to render their services. At present, our repair personnel make up 34.75 percent of the entire staff. In 1983, they repaired over 30,000 watches, earning a profit of 60,000 yuan, averaging 1,072 yuan per person. At the same time, the amount of profits made by the enterprise's operations section personnel averaged 22,650 yuan per person. On the surface, the profits earned from sales and business operations would seem to far exceed those from repairs and maintenance. However, the latter solved the problem of extensive masses of consumers finding it difficult to repair their watches. At the same time, it has enhanced the competitive power of the enterprise. As for wristwatches sold by us at retail, the provisions are: A buyer may return a watch in exchange for another one on the same day of the purchase, provided any alleged defect is not man-made and subject to the conditions that the quality of the original make-up or assembling of the watch and its outward appearance have not been damaged; regarding the question of the quality of the original assembling work, we undertake to change the machine core for a new one within 7 days of the purchase, to attend to repairs without charge within 2 years, and to offer special prices for parts within 5 years. Meantime, we have also developed the business of exchanging old watches for new ones. All this has won the applause and welcome of the extensive masses of consumers.

In short, socialist economy is an indivisible entity. The fate of an enterprise and that of the state are closely linked together. Beneficial results for the enterprise and those for society help and supplement each other. Devoid of the state's prosperity, the enterprise's development cannot be sustained. If beneficial results for the state are overlooked, high beneficial results for the enterprise likewise cannot be sustained.

RECOMMENDING 'YOUNG WORKERS' MORAL EDUCATION SERIES'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 85 inside back cover

[Book review by Wei Huachun [7614 0553 4783]]

[Text] In recent years the composition of the ranks of staff members and workers in our country has undergone a rather big change. Of the total number of staff members and workers, the proportion of youths has come up to around 60 percent, making them an important force in production and construction. Hence, strengthening the ideological education of the young workers and improving their political quality so that they can cope with the historical mission of the new situation of the socialist modernization program constitutes an important task that brooks no delay. For the purposes of meeting the needs of the factories, mines, and enterprises in the rotating training program of young workers and the youths' self-education, the Beijing Publishing House has compiled and published the "Young Workers' Moral Education Series." This series of books is of great benefit to the extensive masses of youths, particularly young workers, in studying the basic theories of Marxism and in improving their ideological consciousness in patriotism and communism.

The first batch of the series is composed of six volumes: "The Gigantic Tool of Understanding--Elements of the Philosophy of Marxism," "Socialism and Communism," "Review of History," "Thirty Years of People's Revolution," "Our Fatherland," and "Creating a Life of Value." Judging from the several books already published, this series of books has the following distinct and special features:

First, it has an interpretative character. In the face of the various understandings and problems of understanding in the minds of young workers, it will not help in solving the problems if we indulge in loud and empty talk to them. In order to improve the effects of teaching the young workers the basic theories of Marxism, the writers of the series have gone deep into the factories, worked, lived and learned jointly with and alongside of the young workers, and grasped the pulse of their thinking. In their writings, they used the stand, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism to shape replies to the ideological problems of the young workers. Here, the writers did not preach with a stern expression, but decided to teach with skill and patience, to use reasoning and emotional pleas, in their endeavor to solve the problems by ideological methods.

Second, it provokes interest. In the minds of certain youths, whenever political theories are brought up, they deem them to be big but dry topics. Particularly in regard to the theories of philosophy, they consider them to be too profound and hard to understand. Accordingly, in order to solve this problem, the writers have taken pains to make an interesting presentation of the basic theories of Marxism, injecting an element of popularization into the theories. For example, compiling the volume "The Gigantic Tool of Understanding--Elements of the Philosophy of Marxism" started with ideological reality, production reality, and the reality of life of the young workers, and, making use of vibrant examples and lively language, proceeded to postulate the theories of philosophy. The arrangement of the contents of the chapters is also relatively new and distinctive.

Third, it has a character of knowledge. To educate the young workers on patriotism is an important policy of the party Central Committee. By means of discourses on the geography and history of the fatherland, particularly China's contemporary history and the history of the Chinese revolution, this series endeavors to arouse the patriotic sentiments of the young workers, producing a fondness for their jobs and their determination to fight for the realization of the four modernizations.

The publication of this series of books has received the warm welcome of the extensive masses of young workers. It has been chosen as a textbook for the training of young workers by organs of the Beijing Economics Committee. At present, reforms of the economic structure in our country are developing in depth. It is our fervent wish that more high-quality reading matter for workers will be published so as to meet the demands of the rapidly developing situation.

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